Daily Report

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Italian Defense Minister Rognoni Visits

AU0701155392 Tirana ATA in English 0905 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] Tirana, January 7 (ATA)—The defence minister of the Italian Republic, Mr. Virginio Rognoni, arrived to our country on January 6 on a working visit, at the invitation of the defence minister, Mr. Alfred Moisiu. In his visit, the Italian defence minister was accompanied by the chief of the General Staff of the Naval Forces, Admiral Filippo Ruggiero, the vice-chief of the General Staff of the Infantry, General Mario Buccemi, and others.

At the Rinas Airport, Mr. Virginio Rognoni was welcomed by the defence minister, Mr. Alfred Moisiu. Present were also the chief of the General Staff of the Army, General-Major Kostaq Karoli; the commander of the Military Maritime Fleet, Colonel Tasim Mece; head of department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bashkim Dino; and others. Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Italian Republic to the Republic of Albania, Torquato Cardilli.

The defence minister of the Italian Republic, Virginio Rognoni, and the persons accompanying him left for Durres city.

The defence minister of the Republic of Albania, Mr. Alfred Moisiu received in Durres at noon Mr. Virginio Rognoni and had a warm and friendly talk with him. In this meeting Mr. Moisiu briefed his Italian counterpart on the work carried out by the Ministry of Defence and the General Staff to deepen the democratizing processes in our Army and dwelt on the measures undertaken to restructure and raise it to the level of the armies of the other European countries. In course of the meeting they voiced the will and readiness to further promote the cooperation between the armies of our two countries, creating possibilities to acquire and learn more from each other's experience. Likewise, they spoke on the current situation in the Balkans, for which the interlocutors aired similar opinions.

The Italian defence minister, Mr. Virginio Rognoni, thanked his counterpart Mr. Moisiu for the warm reception and said that the Italian Government and he are willing to have an all-round and long-term cooperation with our country in the military field too, just like in other domains. My coming to Albania, he said, testifies to this. At the end of the meeting the two ministers gave interviews for the Albanian Television.

Mr. Rognoni thanked the Albanian counterpart for the invitation to visit Albania. The "Pelican" operation, he said, is an aid for the Albanian fraternal people, it is an expression of friendship, the Italian people cherish for the Albanian people. This operation is going on excellently. I would have the opportunity to come again to Albania to realise the invitation the Albanian minister of defence extended to me. My visit will serve the intensification of relations between our two countries and peoples, and of the bilateral friendship, in the framework of the European community. We, he said, talked on issues of the further strengthening of ties and cooperation between our two armies. Thank my counterpart for the cooperation between the Italian and Albanian military forces and I hope for a more fruitful cooperation in the future.

Mr. Alfred Moisiu said among others that the meeting with the Italian defence minister, Mr. Rognoni, was fruitful. We thank the Italian people, government and Army for the aid granted to our country. With my counterpart I talked of mutually beneficial issues, the developments in the Balkans, considering them in the European framework. He stressed that the relations between the two governments have been promoted and added that we exchanged opinions on tne consolidation of relations between our armies and countries. The talks, Mr. Moisiu said, proceeded in a spirit of understanding and I invited the Italian minister of defence for another visit to Albania in the future. We talked also on the possibilities of schooling, specializing and qualifying the Albanian military men in Italy.

On the same day, the Italian defence minister, Mr. Virginio Rognoni visited the Italian troops engaged in the "Pelican" operation in Durres and Vlore.

The minister of defence of the Italian Republic, Mr. Virginio Rognoni left our country on January 6, afternoon.

Police Halt 10,0000 Would-Be Emigrants

AU0701140792 Paris AFP in English 0020 GMT 7 Jan 91

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 7 (AFP)—Albanian police on Monday stopped some 10,000 people heading for the port of Durres, after a rumour spread that ships would take emigrants from there to Italy, a correspondent at the scene said. The correspondent said the police blocked the road leading from the capital Tirana to Durres, and the crowd then dispersed peacefully. Many Albanians have been trying to leave their impoverished country since the communist system collapsed there in 1990. In March last year thousands of people crammed into ships in Durres and then crossed the Adriatic Sea to Italy.

Trade Unions Discuss Demands With Government

AU0701161992 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 2100 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] A working meeting with the Council of Ministers was held a few days ago at the insistence of the Confederation of Albanian Trade Unions [KSSh]. This was the second planned meeting, because the first meeting scheduled a few days previously did not take place because the KSSh leaders considered the absence of some ministers at a meeting that was to discuss several urgent demands was unreasonable.

The government was represented at this meeting by Prime Minister Vilson Ahmeti, the Presidium of the Council of Ministers, and some ministers. The KSSh was represented by its chairman Kastriot Muco and some of the chairmen of the country's trade union federations. The meeting discussed the urgent demands addressed to the government by the KSSh, which have also been published in the press. The demands were considered and analyzed one by one, and the work of the government so far and the plans and schedules for solving those problems that the government has undertaken to settle during its term of office were described in the course of a constructive debate and dialogue.

Regarding the KSSh's demand for the maintenance of calm and public order, it was explained that the forces of order have improved their work and are making efforts alongside Army units to contribute more to accomplishing this task, especially in guaranteeing aid distribution.

The KSSh's representatives insisted on measures to ensure food for the people. The government reassured them that every measure has been taken, and that the foodstuffs contained in the basket of staple goods, such as meat, powdered milk, butter, flour etc., have been secured for six months. There have been difficulties in obtaining eggs. Besides the aid of $27 million approved for our country by the EEC, every member-state of the Group of 24 will give other aid on the basis of the requests made by our country.

The government replied to the KSSh's demand for an end to black market speculation by saying that it has taken measures to reinforce the Financial Police with personnel and equipment, that ceiling prices will be imposed on some items not included in the basket of staple goods, and that the fiscal system will be strengthened, because no market economy exists without taxes.

There was a debate on ensuring heating fuel for the population. The government informed the trade unionists that it has signed a contract for 20,000 tonnes of coal and also for 4,000 tonnes of paraffin, of which 2,000 tonnes have been delivered. It also reported the import during January of a considerable number of paraffin heaters to be distributed by the state. Four powerful transformers have also been bought, which, alongside others that will be removed from enterprises that are not working, will improve the electricity grid in some towns that have problems in this area.

The KSSh proposed that domestic electricity consumption in winter should be all charged at the 30 qindarka rate. The government agreed to substantially increase the amount of electricity to be charged at the 30 qindarka rate.

Regarding the Law on Social Assistance, the KSSh called for amendments to the legal framework and for intervention to stop acts of arbitrariness that have been noticed in the enforcement of this law. Although the government has issued instructions for the enterprises and executive committees and is organizing seminars in order to prevent confusion between the 80 percent wage rate [paid to laid-off workers] and social assistance, this process requires the aid and cooperation of the trade unions. The government also asked for help and support in properly enforcing the Law on Enterprises, the election of managing councils, the organization of privatization, etc.

In connection with the KSSh's insistence on preserving and strengthening the agricultural enterprises, the government guaranteed that they will not be threatened, but will be given strong government support. Any land, livestock, or other resources that may have been or may be seized from the agricultural enterprises will be a matter for criminal prosecution. Any agreement that is reached with the agricultural enterprises about the aforementioned matters will necessarily be subject to the approval of the trade unions.

The government was asked to put an end to its empty promises about solving the problems of workers' transportation. The government informed the trade unionists that two repaired trains will soon be brought into service and that a number of railroad cars and buses will be imported.

The problem of resuming work occupied an important place at the meeting, because the existing situation has had a serious effect on public order and on the work of the trade unions. The government admitted that there has also been excessive bureaucracy over this matter. It reported that it had taken measures, especially in enterprises that do not use imported raw materials, to enable work to resume immediately, while contracts for other enterprises have been signed. The delivery of some raw materials, especially from Italy, has begun. This week will also witness a response from the EEC, Saudi Arabia, and other countries. A quantity of cotton is expected to arrive from Greece before the end of the month. Measures have been taken to resume normal work at coal, ferrochrome, and copper mines.

Regarding the demands and proposals of the KSSh and the trade union federations for the approval of a law on pensions, the government undertook to draw up a draft for submission to the People's Assembly immediately.

The meeting also seriously discussed demands for protecting the people's health, the work of schools, etc. This was a promising meeting. Will this government keep its word in solving working people's urgent problems, or will it behave as before? Whether these matters are solved or not, the KSSh will not be overlooked.

Foreign Minister Ganev Departs for Syria

AU0701152992 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] On 7 January, Stoyan Ganev, minister of foreign affairs, departed for Syria on a brief working business. Afterward, Minister Ganev will depart for Italy. According to him, the visits to Syria and Italy are aimed at developing more active diplomatic links and mutually beneficial economic relations with the two countries.

Minister Ganev brings a personal message from Bulgarian President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev to Hafiz al-Asad, Syrian president, with whom he will meet during the visit. In addition, Mr. Ganev will brief the Syrian state leadership on our proposal to eventually host one of the future stages of the Israeli-Arab negotiations.

Mr. Ganev will visit Italy at the invitation of Gianni de Michelis, Italian foreign minister. It is expected that bilateral documents will be signed on 9 January. These documents will form the legal basis of the two countries' future relations.

Zhelev Discusses Reform, Ties With Ukraine

AU0701163292 Lvov ZA VILNU UKRAYINU in Ukrainian 6 Dec 91 p 1

[Interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev by international section editor Nadiya Derkach on 28 November 1991; place not given: "It May Sound Paradoxical, But Compared With Communism, Fascism Is a Step Toward Democracy"]

[Excerpts] [Derkach] Mr. President, your country began economic reforms in extremely unfavorable conditions. At that time, no other former socialist country experienced such difficult conditions as Bulgaria. Nevertheless, you began with price liberalization, something that is so greatly feared in our country. Was that the only possible way?

[Zhelev] Yes, it was. We did not have an alternative. As you aptly pointed out, we began our economic reform in extremely difficult international and domestic conditions. The external conditions were difficult, because, for one thing, relations within the framework of CEMA were disrupted. It turned out to be much more complicated to establish new, bilateral, relations. Western countries did not trust us. This was further aggravated by the crisis in the Persian Gulf. We remained without oil. All of this forced us to begin implementing economic reforms. We liberalized prices.

Of course, we could not even hope that someone would welcome such a situation. Even though the government offered various compensations and elaborated a whole system of them, the standard of living worsened by approximately 40 percent. It only remained for us to persistently explain to the people that it was the only possible way, and that any campaign against reform would be social demagogy and populism leading to nothing but additional difficulties.

The rate of exchange for the dollar also was freed. At first, one dollar was exchanged for about 40 leva. Now it is for 17-18 leva.

In addition to this element of economic reform, there is yet another, structural one: demonopolization, with large- and small-scale privatization. We have already done something in this direction, but far from everything.

[Derkach] Is it possible to speak about Bulgarian lessons for those who are about to implement such reforms?

[Zhelev] Undoubtedly, and I believe that it is necessary to start with guaranteeing support for syndicates. Unless this support is given, the entire country may be weakened. For example, we had a trilateral commission. It united representatives of the government, syndicates, and employers. This commission, by the very fact of its existence, restrained trade unions from attempting to hold strikes that could upset the reform.

In addition to this, we managed, with the help of a special written agreement, to engage the political parties participating in the parliament, so that they would not take advantage of the difficulties involved in the economic reform and of the inevitable difficulties experienced by the government.

We realized that any demagogue could make a lot of trouble if he wanted to take advantage of the difficulties encountered by the government. We spoke about this every day on television, radio, and in newspapers.

I believe that these aspects are very important. Economic reform is also social and political reform. One of our lessons lies in the fact that it is necessary to guarantee political support for reform.

[Derkach] This year, a law became effective in Bulgaria in accordance with which land must be returned to its former owners. Undoubtedly, one can argue as to the expediency of such a document. I would like to know about your attitude toward this law. Do you consider such a solution to the problem as the most justifiable one?

[Zhelev] Yes. Land is now being returned to its former owners or their heirs, no matter where they live, in cities or villages, whether they cultivate land or not. I consider this particular solution to the question to be the most justifiable.

Our former Communists who have now adopted the name of Socialists have a different slogan—"Land must belong to those who cultivate it." In my opinion, this is nothing other than a continuation of socialism.

I personally am convinced of one thing: Land must be returned to private ownership. Let everyone do as they please after that: Cultivate it, introduce cooperation,

lease it to another owner on principles of mutual agreement, or sell it. In other words, there must be all attributes typical of private ownership. [passage omitted]

[Derkach] Bulgaria and the Ukraine recently reached an accord on the supply of commodities in exchange for electric energy. Can this fact be regarded as the first specific step toward cooperation between our countries? How do you see the prospects of this cooperation?

[Zhelev] This was the first time that we had an opportunity to conclude agreements directly with the Ukraine and not via the center. I am convinced that our cooperation will expand further and that economic and cultural relations between Bulgaria and the Ukraine will become more intensive.

Moreover, the Ukraine is for us a market that we know. We are familiar with its structures, its needs, and its characteristic features. The similarity of the languages will also promote our future cooperation. At the same time, we may not only develop bilateral relations between our states, but also act as an intermediary between the West and the Ukraine and between Western firms and the Ukraine. There is great interest in the development of our relations with the Ukraine.

I always felt that the Ukraine deserved a better fate—a country with more territory and people than France. What did we know about it? That there was such a republic within the USSR and that Kiev was its capital, and nothing else. I am convinced that the process of secession from the Union will help the Ukrainian people return to the sources of their own culture, history, and traditions.

[Derkach] Mr. President, here is my last question: Can the Ukraine count on recognition by the Republic of Bulgaria?

[Zhelev] Bulgaria will be among the first states to recognize Ukrainian sovereignty after the referendum.

Recently, during my official visit to the Russian Federation, we signed a protocol on the restoration of diplomatic relations. We are also going to establish such relations with the Ukraine.

... The Bulgarian president made this promise two days prior to the referendum on Ukrainian independence. Yesterday evening, our editorial office received reports from Sofia about the recognition of Ukrainian independence by Bulgaria and about the decision to establish diplomatic relations.

In a personal message [dated 28 November 1991], President Zhelev wishes ZA VILNU UKRAYINU readers health and every success.

Sofia-Lvov.

Military Chiefs Appointed; Council Formed

AU0701193592 Sofia BTA in English 1737 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 7 (BTA)—By a presidential decree Major General Engineer Mikho Mihhov has been appointed Air Defence and Air Force commander, and Rear Admiral Ventseslav Velkov has been appointed commander of the Navy.

The former minister of transport Mr. Veselin Pavlov was named head of the newly established Military Economy Administration, Mr. Dimitur Bongalov, former adviser at the Council of Ministers, will be in charge of social policy in the Army, and Major Aleksandur Aleksandrov will take over the legal administration of the Ministry of Defence, said the ministry's spokesman General Stoimen Stoimenov.

All matters concerning the operation of the Army will be decided by a Supreme Military Council with the General Staff of the Bulgarian Army, a novelty intended to avoid any autocratic decision making, General Stoimenov emphasized. This collective advisory body will be mostly concerned with the troops' combat training and with the whole range of national security tasks.

Prime Minister's Economic Stance Applauded

AU0701170492 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] The Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB] expresses satisfaction with the statement that Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov made last night on Bulgarian Television—this was stated by KNSB spokeswoman Diana Damyanova at a news conference held in Sofia today.

She said that the prime minister's statement provided evidence of the government's good intention to brief the public on its strategy for national reform. At the same time, however, Mrs. Damyanova described as disturbing Mr. Dimitrov's declared obstinate refusal to consider the claims of the trade unions. In her view, the statement revealed a clear desire for contacts with private business, but a lack of willingness to cooperate with the trade unions.

Police Trade Union Protests Dismissals

AU0701123892 Sofia BTA in English 1157 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 7 (BTA)—"The totalitarian forces are unwilling to give up their positions in the Ministry of the Interior and are causing tension among the employees," "DEMOKRATSIYA" writes in connection with the staff changes in the Ministry of the Interior. "Personnel reductions in the Ministry of the Interior are gathering speed," the Socialist daily "DUMA" says. "DUMA" quotes Lieutenant Colonel Nikolay Tomov, former chief of the Regional Police Department in

Gabrovo, as saying that "these maneuvers are intended to consolidate power, not to promote democracy." He argues that none of the officials to be sacked has seen his or her performance evaluation. Moreover, "DUMA" charges, some of them had been notified about their dismissal over the telephone.

The Executive Committee of the Independent Police Trade Union has issued a protest declaration which says that "employees are being dismissed without notice or explanation. The usual motive is inefficiency." The Press Centre of the Ministry of the Interior denied the trade union's allegations saying that the most of the dismissed officials have reached retiring age. "The dismissals come as a result of collective decisions," the Press Centre stressed.

Mr. Yordan Sokolov, minister of the interior, explained the need for personnel changes in the Panorama weekly round-up of events on National Television. In connection with allegations of the pro-socialist press that employees are being sacked "over the phone," Mr. Sokolov said that officials are first notified over the phone, warrants come later on.

There have been strong reactions over the personnel changes in the Ministry of Defence as well.

"Bulgarian soldiers are killing each other while Zhelev and Ludzhev are implementing reforms," "DUMA" writes. The newspaper cites an anonymous source as saying that there has been a serious incident in the Sliven garrison—a sergeant riddled two subordinates with bullets, wounded another one and then killed himself. Officers from the Personnel Department of the Ministry of Defence have issued a declaration protesting against the changes effected by the leadership of the ministry, changes which, according to them, are "rash and inefficient." "The military reform we are carrying out will be more than a mere patch work"—this was Mr. Ludzhev's indirect answer to the accusations at yesterday's meeting of the ministry leadership with top Army commanders. Orders were read for the dismissal of tens of generals and other officers either as a result of the structural changes in the Bulgarian Army or because they have reached retiring age. Mr. Ludzhev stressed that the new structures of the Ministry of Defence and the General Staff will determine the ministry's future policy—implementation of a truly democratic model for the development of the Bulgarian Army.

Minister Baksay Discusses Tank Shipment to Syria

AU0701203492 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 3 Jan 92 pp 1, 3

["(JET)"-signed report on interview with CSFR Foreign Trade Minister Jozef Baksay in Prague; date not given: "Tanks for Syria"]

[Text] The 16 Czechoslovak T-72 tanks that are to be transported from the Polish docks in Szczeczyn to Syria are part of a larger shipment of our tanks to this country. This information, provided by the Polish daily GAZETA WYBORCZA at the end of last year, has been confirmed by the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade.

"It is a one-time action that is expected to help the Heavy Machine Tool Enterprises [ZTS] in Martin to sell the still available tanks and to acquire finances for the conversion of arms production into civilian production. The ZTS is the largest concern dealing with this production in our country and the impact of economic hardship on employees would be immense here," Foreign Trade Minister Jozef Baksay told us yesterday. He also stressed that the Czechoslovak export of tanks would end with this shipment and that no one would obtain a [arms export] license in the future. This ban on exports also applies to the old tanks that the Czechoslovak Army is discarding.

"The contract for tank deliveries to Syria was concluded earlier, and as businessmen we cannot afford to fail to deliver," Minister Baksay also said.

He noted that on the basis of the government declaration of 8 October 1991, the export of heavy conventional weapons from Czechoslovakia to the Middle East was suspended until the Middle East peace conference is convened. After the conference started, the reasons for interrupting the deliveries ceased to exist.

"My personal standpoint is that we should not manufacture and export weapons in Czechoslovakia," Minister Baksay said. "However, as a man who is currently responsible, among other things, for not allowing the number of unemployed in Martin to grow, I understand that we must create conditions that allow us to put an end to arms production and carry out restructuring. We have clearly said that if someone was able to help us with conversion problems and provide us with the equivalent amount of money that we receive from tank sales, then we would be even willing to bury the tanks. Unfortunately, neither the United States nor any other country was able to help financially.

Minister Baksay refused to say how many tanks will be exported to Syria. "This is a question of business ethics and we would violate it by saying how many."

Rumored Arms Sale Detailed

AU0701190792 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 31 Dec 91 pp 1,3

["(SLA)"-signed report: "Mysterious Weapons"]

[Excerpt] The export company Omnipol allegedly tried to buy 10,000 tank grenades in Germany. We received this information yesterday. Technoexport intended to buy parts for the construction of nuclear reactors in Iraq in the same country. The defense minister and the foreign trade minister gave rather unclear explanations on these two transactions. This is why we asked the directors of the two companies for their points of view.

The Technoexport company director, Engineer Josef Cilek, candidate of sciences, said: "I resolutely protest against the contents of your article 'Mysterious Questions' published on 30 December 1991 and signed by Karel Hvizdala. I refer to the section of the article that says that Technoexport Prague tried to buy parts for the construction of nuclear reactors in Iraq in Germany. First, I confirm the fact that our stockholding company does not deal, and never did, with the import or export of the installations you are speaking about. Second, I declare that the Technoexport company fully respects the international obligations of the CSFR that ensue from the UN Security Council resolutions, including the embargo imposed on Iraq.

While the Technoexport director reacted promptly, the Omnipol director did not give us his point of view—even after several telephone calls. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Pithart on Ukraine, Economy

LD0801074992 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1730 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Weekly interview with Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart by reporter Zbynek Honys; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Honys] Mr. Prime Minister, at the end of this week you are off to Ukraine. Can you briefly explain to our listeners the purpose of this trip?

[Pithart] It is likely that the what I am about to recall is known by a lot of people. Ukraine has more than 50 million inhabitants and extremely rich natural resources often unused. It was the granary of Europe at one time. I have no doubt about it becoming an economic giant in time. It is also comparatively the best preserved republic from the former Soviet republics. It is our neighbor. From this alone it is clear that our visit has a purpose. [passage omitted] It would be a big mistake to miss this opportunity.

[Honys] Are you hoping that your visit will yield specific results?

[Pithart] This is the first visit of its kind. For this reason alone, it will probably be of a fact-finding nature.

Together with Ukrainian representatives we will be looking at economic and political cooperation. Our delegation includes the First Deputy Prime Minister Strasky from the Czech Republic, Czech Minister of Industry Vrba, and a deputy of Mr. Dyba, who is the Czech minister for economic policy. As you can see, this is a strong representation of our economic life. Although it will be a visit by the Czech Republic, we will be joined by experts from federal bodies, from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and from Ministry of Defense. They will discuss the establishment of diplomatic relations and cooperation on the level of the armed forces. This is a Federal government matter. I wish to add that Ukraine has a great interest in contacts with us, both with the CSFR and the Czech Republic. It is interested in our products, such as tram cars or buses. I would like to believe above all that they regard us as some kind of a future gateway to Europe. Do not forget the wide-gauge railway connecting our country with theirs, which is the main link between Ukraine, Slovakia, and Czechoslovakia, and the foremost main link with Europe.

[Honys] Do you think that the question of Transcarpathian Ukraine, or Subcarpathian Ruthenia, will also be discussed?

[Pithart] No, I do not. You might recall what Minister Demes [Slovak minister for international relations] said on television at lunchtime on Sunday. It is only a section of the Czech public, or to be more precise a section of Czech press, that tables this problem. Ukrainian representatives of many walks of life have a tolerant attitude toward the views of a section of the Czech press. Pronouncements by Czech politicians have a different meaning. From the Ukrainian Republic's viewpoint, changing the existing borders is out of the question. The problem of borders is rather delicate, perhaps even an explosive problem. After all, there are Ukrainian- Polish, Ukrainian-Russian, and Ukrainian-Romanian borders, and the Crimean peninsula. I think that tabling the border issue would not be wise.

[Honys] Mr. Prime Minister, do you have coupon book?

[Pithart] [passage omitted] In answer to questions on the purpose of coupon privatization, the purpose is not to acquire some grand assets, at least not for me personally. Equipping the existing state enterprises with fresh capital is not its purpose either. Its main purpose is to transfer the substantial section of what was hitherto in state ownership to private persons. Coupon privatization should result in creating an important proportion of private ownership in Czechoslovak economy. [passage omitted]

I am taking part in coupon privatization because I want to make it publicly known that coupon privatization is an effective and fast road to the creation of a powerful private sector. [passage omitted]

[Honys] Yesterday you visited Lnare chateau, where a team of specialists discusses privatization projects and is making decisions about them; in other words, where the final leg of the drafting of large privatization is under way.

[Pithart] Yes, I wanted to be there, if only for a while. The point is that the events there are of enormous importance, because what is being drafted there amounts, in effect, to a revolution in the sphere of property ownerhip relations in our republic. [passage omitted] The revolution that is being prepared in Lnare will determine ownership relations in Czech lands for many years to come, perhaps even for centuries. [passage omitted] It is a massive offensive, the objective of which is to attain one desired goal. The name of this goal is legal guarantees for all.

[Honys] Mr. Prime Minister, thank you for this interview.

Demes on Slovak 1991 International Relations

AU0701123292 Prague CSTK in English 1643 GMT 5 Jan 92

[Text] Bratislava Jan 5 (CSTK)—Slovak Minister for International Relations Pavol Demes today said that 10 prominent supreme politicians and 47 government delegations from the whole world paid visits to Slovakia in 1991.

In an interview with CSTK, Demes said the Slovak Ministry for International Relations more clearly formulated Slovakia's interests and reflected them in the foreign policy of Czechoslovakia.

"We have focused particularly on our neighbors. We discuss many issues connected with cooperation with Hungary, Poland Austria, and Ukraine", Demes said, adding that at present there are 11 general consulates in Bratislava.

The ministry actively cooperates with Slovak expatriates who need help, for example in Croatia or Romania, as well as with Slovaks living in overseas countries who might be able to help Slovakia, he noted.

Demes said that out of 10 diplomats chosen for the posts of Czechoslovak ambassadors in the second half of 1991, eight were Slovaks.

Havel Reacts to Draft Election Law Criticism

AU0701193492 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 31 Dec 91 pp 1,16

[Interview with CSFR President Vaclav Havel by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "Provoking a Discussion"]

[Text] [LIDOVE NOVINY] Mr. President, just before Christmas you briefed the public on the fundamental principles contained in the new election law you proposed to the Federal Assembly. What do you think of the reaction to your proposal?

[Havel] First and foremost, I am pleased that the possibility of a different election law is beginning to be discussed and written about and that this discussion is more matter-of-fact than I had hoped. It is a pity that this discussion is only beginning now and that I had to provoke it. It would have been better if this discussion had been initiated by the political parties or parliaments a few months ago. There would have been more time for it. It goes without saying that I am pleased by favorable reaction. As far as critical reaction is concerned, I would divide it into roughly three sections. One reveals that either its proponents know nothing at all about my proposal or that they misunderstood it (and know even less about the so-called deputies' alternative proposal). The second set of critical comments does not proceed from ignorance, but from erroneous considerations about the consequences of the kind of electoral system I am proposing. I could easily refute the majority of critical reservations in this category. The third set of critical comments is made up of very interesting, sensible, and justified reservations. We will give serious consideration to these reservations and, along with Professor Klokocka, we are even going to draft an alternative wording for some of the paragraphs contained in our proposal. This wording will react to these objections or will take them into consideration. Our office is collating all reaction available (from the press, radio, and television) so that we can deal with it in a responsible manner.

I am rather surprised that the hastily prepared so-called deputies' proposal, which only amends the currently valid law a little, is almost unknown and that no one has noticed that it is—to say the least—considerably worse than the existing law in two respects. First, it limits the importance of preferences (and not the other way round as is generally assumed) and, second, it allows some parties to slip through the five percent clause and others not at all. It seems to me that it gives far too much preference to the parties currently represented in parliament (it even allows for the alternative possibility that they will be given a considerable advantage in gaining access to the mass media in the election campaign).

I would be pleased if the press and television would grant not only Professor Klokocka an opportunity to explain my proposal, but would also grant other experts—including, of course, those who disagree with our proposal—an opportunity to express their views. The sooner a well-informed public discussion gets underway, the easier it will be for the parliamentary committees, the political parties, and, finally, the entire parliament to consider the issue in a matter-of-fact manner. This will lead to a greater hope that we will finally attain a truly optimum law.

Air-Traffic Controllers Explain Strike Purpose

AU0701123592 Prague CSTK in English 0750 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Prague Jan 6 (CSTK)—The Czech daily MLADA FRONTA DNES today writes about the current strike alert of Czechoslovak air-traffic controllers who demand higher wages.

The paper publishes a "statement to the public" in which the Executive Council of the Czechoslovak Air-Traffic Controllers Association explains its attitude towards a planned halting of flights over Czechoslovak territory. In the current phase it is not the question of money, says the statement, but of pressure aimed to disrupt the old structures and methods which, in the new conditions, stick to wage levelling.

Military Commander Comments on Reorganization

LD0701190392 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Interview with Lieutenant-General Jozef Tuchyna, chief military commander of the east, by correspondent Peter Toman; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Toman] Even if organizational and relocational changes in our army are going according to a timetable, they come up against significant material, technical, and logistical problems. Do you think it will be better this year?

[Tuchyna] We would need, in this year of reorganization, Kcs 1,000 million. It is rather a large sum and I doubt we will get it. The army has not been given what it really needed. [passage omitted]

[Toman] The civilian public is interested above all in the anticipated changes to the system of military service. Can any changes to be expected this year?

[Tuchyna] The service is to be cut to twelve months. Naturally, this will be a law. Therefore, the government and the Federal Assembly must address the issue. A lot has been expected from the professionalization of the Czechoslovak Army which was to start last year and continue in the current one. [passage ommitted]

Socialist Party Chairman Explains Resignation

LD0801071792 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1730 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Report by reporter Dusan Valenta on press briefing by Liberal Social Union]

[Excerpt] At the beginning of the Liberal Social Union press breifing, Ladislav Dvorak, chairman of Czechoslovak Socialist Party spoke about his departure from the post of Czech Republic deputy minister of finance. He terminated his work for the ministry on 31 December 1991. The main reason for his departure is his rejection of the acceptance of his share of responsibility for the hitherto course of economic reform. He thus refutes the view voiced by TELEGRAF [Civic Democratic Party daily] that it was the Screening Law that prompted his departure. His application for the release from his post says, among other things, that he will be occupied by the work for the party in the run up to the elections. From

the view point of time he, is unable to marry his party post with the post of deputy minister of finance. [passage omitted]

Carnogursky on 22-Month Parliamentary Term

LD0801115492 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Excerpts] At its first session this year, the Slovak Government had over 20 points on its agenda. [passage omitted]

The government expressed its disagreement with the proposal of a group of deputies of the Slovak National Council to amend the constitutional law according to which the current election period for the Slovak Parliament should be reduced from 24 to 22 months which would actually mean declaring the elections already in April 1992. Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky explained this to the press:

[Begin recording] [Carnogursky] The government's stance was negative because if the election was brought forward in Slovakia, there would have to be another election in two months at the latest for federal parliament. It costs about 70 million korunas to organize elections and it would mean doubling cost. Naturally there is also a political aspect that if the citizens cast their votes once, then two months later there might be low participation in the next elections.

[Reporter] Was the government united when assessing this proposal?

[Carnogursky] Yes it was. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Your view on the planned strike of air traffic controllers.

[Carnogursky] It is dangerous and risky because it could start an avalanche which would be difficult to stop but it would not be of great use to the population or to the strikers because it would only lead to inflation, to the devaluation of money. Some groups of workers might achieve nominally higher wages but their value would not really increase.

[Reporter] We have heard from sources close to the government that about 31 directors under the Ministry of Industry should leave their posts from Friday as a result of the law on screening.

[Carnogursky] The government has so far received no information from the minister of industry and if it is true, this is only the law on screening is being implemented and we cannot influence that. That's all I can tell you on this topic. [end recording]

Slovak Parliament Assesses Czech Treaty

LD0801080692 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1730 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] The Presidium of the Slovak parliament was today assessing 22 controversial points in the text of the draft of the state treaty following from the November meeting of the Presidium of the Czech and Slovak national parliaments in Casta-Papiernicka.

During the break, Ivan Carnogursky, first deputy speaker of the Slovak parliament, said that the coalition parties and movements discussed these points yesterday and arrived at an agreement. He also said that the controversy is about executive jurisdictions of the common state and the conclusion of state treaties.

By 1400 the Presidium of the Slovak parliament had agreed on 11 of 22 controversial points of that treaty. One issue is the name of the treaty. The Slovak side is proposing the title: The State Treaty Between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. The Czech side is promoting the title: The Treaty and the Principles of the State Set-Up of the Joint State. The latter is the form of the title finally adopted by the Presidium of the Slovak National Council.

[Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak at 1815 GMT on 7 January notes that the Presidium of the Slovak parliament reached agreement on all 22 controversial points in the text of the Czech and Slovak treaty and consequently agreed on the full text of its proposal of the treaty. Now talks can begin with the Czech side.]

Slovak Government Approves Air Protection Bill

LD0701183492 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 1300 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Excerpts] The Slovak Government today approved the schedule of its legislative tasks for the first six months of the year, which will be added to and brought up to date as necessary. [passage omitted]

With comments, the Slovak Government approved the draft bill on the state administration of the protection of clean air. The amendment specifically delineates the activity of the Slovak Commission for the Environment as the central body of the state administration in clean air protection. It also outlines the activity of the offices for the environment as local administration bodies, the activity of the Slovak Inspectorate of the Environment, and of communities, in the area of clean air protection.

UN Envoy Urges Peace Despite Helicopter Downing

LD0801090292 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 0630 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] At the UN Security Council in New York the Hungarian ambassador to the UN, Andre Erdoes, said that the event which took place [the downing of the EC monitors' helicopter] must not undermine the Yugoslav peace efforts. Erdoes stated that the attempt was a provocation aimed at wrecking a peaceful settlement. The world cannot afford to renounce a political solution, he added.

Foreigners Without Permits To Be Expelled

AU0701124892 Budapest MTI in English 0947 GMT 3 Jan 92

[Text] Budapest, January 3 (MTI)--Twenty Chinese people awaiting expulsion from Hungary rioted at a transit camp at Kerepestarcsa, near Budapest, in the last week of December, Gyorgy Suha, spokesman for the Hungarian Police, said in the January 3 issue of MAGYAR NEMZET.

They destroyed furniture but the guard and a special police unit prevented them from leaving the building. Rubber truncheons did not have to be used, the spokesman said. The masterminds behind the riot were separated from the others who then calmed down, the spokesman said.

In the wake of a bomb attack committed against Russian Jews en route to Israel on December 23, Hungarian police have launched a wide-scale action to expel foreigners staying in Hungary illegally. For the time being, there are 40-45,000 such foreigners in the country, Suha said.

Since December 23, the authorities have found hundreds of foreigners without valid residence permits or passports, the spokesman said. These people are first gathered at Kerepestarcsa, then escorted to the border and expelled from the country. Some of them are returned to their home country on charter flights. The related costs are borne by the Hungarian state budget, the police spokesman said in MAGYAR NEMZET.

PRC Ambassador Discusses Trade Relations

AU0701213392 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 4 Jan 92 p 3

[Interview with PRC Ambassador to Hungary Dai Bingguo by Gabor L. Papp; place and date not given: "Beijing Plans To Set Up Trade Center in Budapest"]

[Text] During the recent and ongoing changes in Central and East Europe, the world has shown increased interest in Hungary. An increasing number of Chinese people, including PRC citizens, have arrived in Hungary in the last two years. There are an increasing number of establishments, restaurants, and shops in Hungary reflecting the investment intentions of Chinese people, mainly in Budapest but in other towns as well. Chinese-Hungarian friendship societies and associations have also been established to enhance relations and cooperation. We interviewed Dai Bingguo on the prospects of Hungarian relations with the PRC.

[Papp] The historical changes of the Central and East European region have mobilized the population of these countries, and people from more distant countries, including China, have shown increasing interest in traveling to and settling in this region. We often read in Hungarian newspapers about Chinese people intending to settle in Hungary. Mr. Ambassador! You assumed your post in Budapest in November 1989. Judging from the last two years, how do you assess these phenomena?

[Bingguo] The changes that began in 1989 in Hungary have indeed been of great importance. As an ambassador, I have been able to follow these changes very closely. Due to the nature of diplomatic work there are always many jobs to do, therefore, I could not define what period in these two years gave us the most to do. As for the Chinese people in Hungary, I do not have exact figures because these people keep coming and going.

Supposedly, there are several thousand Chinese people in Hungary. Many of them have already established various enterprises, opened restaurants, or conducted other business activities useful to the public. Institutes dealing with traditional Chinese natural medicine have also been established. One of our diplomats responsible for consular matters deals with these issues. We always demand that our citizens who live in Hungary obey the local laws, respect local traditions, and live in friendship with the peoples of this country. According to information received from the responsible Hungarian authorities, the vast majority of the Chinese are staying legally in Hungary and obeying the Hungarian laws. There are, of course, unfortunate exceptions, but the Chinese side equally protects the legal rights and interests of emigrant Chinese and Chinese citizens. I trust that the Hungarian side can also guarantee the assertion of these rights and interests.

[Papp] A recurring topic in the Hungarian media is the establishment of so-called Chinese quarters (Chinatowns). Szolnok and Tapolca have planned to establish such areas, and it is possible that Budapest will also have a Chinese quarter sometime in the future. What is your opinion on these planned Hungarian "Chinatowns?"

[Bingguo] As you know, Chinese quarters have already been established in certain European countries and America. My Hungarian friends would also welcome a "Chinatown," but in my view, this is only the wish of certain people, a topic of conversation.

[Papp] Talking about new laws, regulations, and the renewed statehood, let me ask how the PRC Government assesses the changes in Central and East Europe?

[Bingguo] Well, I believe that an assessment or qualification of the changes would be premature, perhaps even from the affected countries themselves. Social practice will qualify those which require a longer period of time. In our view, these changes are the internal affairs of these countries. We report and acknowledge them, but we do not qualify them. It is up to the peoples of these countries to form opinions on them. Many kinds of social and political systems, many ways of development, and many different traditions and cultures exist on our planet. On international relations, China has always maintained that peaceful coexistence and the policy of non-interference in the domestic affairs of the other side is the road to follow. History will prove that this is the most viable policy in international relations.

[Papp] Mr Ambassador! At the beginning of the new year, people talk a lot about plans, tasks, and new ideas everywhere. What role does China assign to the Hungarian Republic in its economic and trade plans for Central and East Europe? What kind of relations does China currently have with Poland and the CSFR?

[Bingguo] I can say that our relations are very good and are improving with all three countries. We have many common interests. China is ready to unceasingly develop friendly relations and cooperation with these three countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. We are also interested in developing economic and trade links with these countries. One of our more immediate plans that might be implemented in 1992 is to set up a Central European trade center for improved coordination of development and relations. We already have such trade centers in Hamburg, New York, and many other places, and we are planning to set up the Central-East European center in Budapest.

[Papp] Worldwide attention is focused on the changes the Soviet Union is undergoing now. What kind of relations does China have with the Soviet Union?

[Bingguo] As I already said in connection with the other countries, China attempts to assert the policies of peaceful coexistence and non-interference in domestic matters in its relations with the Soviet Union, too. Our country is interested in promoting friendly and good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union. This is one of the reasons we hope that the changes in the Soviet Union will be peaceful and constructive. As you know, after a long time, our relations with the Soviet Union were normalized in 1989. I am very well aware that this was not an easy task for either country. We hope that our relations will continue to be favorable in the future.

As a neighboring country, we naturally pay attention to the Soviet situation and acknowledge the events there. We trust that the situation will soon stabilize as a result of bilateral consultations. I also participated in the many years of negotiations that preceded our agreement, and I have a heartfelt desire for further progress in Chinese-Soviet relations.

Increased Border Defense Measures Outlined

AU0701202992 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 3 Jan 92 p 3

[Report by Zsolt Nemeth: "Intensified Military Service Has a Defensive Nature—BORBA Is Lying"]

[Text] While people were bidding farewell to the old year and greeting the new one in an optimistic or pessimistic mood, depending on their temperament, the guns in Croatia continued to roar with unchanged intensity. Yugoslav combat aircraft flew close to the Hungarian border several times: one fighter on 31 December, five on 1 January, and one on 2 January. Hungarian aircraft responded in kind.

We learned from Hungarian Defense Ministry spokesman Gyorgy Keleti that from the very beginning the civil war in Yugoslavia has forced Hungary to take defensive measures.

Naturally, the Hungarian Army has been attentively following the Yugoslav domestic political situation for quite some time. This analysis has become more intensive since armed struggle began. In the new defense strategy adopted by the government last year, our defense officials predicted the possibility of a civil war in this area that could endanger Hungarian security. It clearly developed toward the end of 1990 that the national contradictions prevailing in Yugoslavia could flare up into armed struggle, including the participation of the regular Army there.

Initially, the Hungarian Army analyzed the major developments in Yugoslavia but no measures were taken which could give the impression that Hungary wanted to interfere in this conflict and support any of the participants. Concrete measures were taken when the Yugoslav Army became the main participants in the civil war. This time some sort of alert became necessary in addition to the constant evaluation of incoming information, in order to be ready to defend our country by the deployment of armed forces if necessary. At the time, this task was given primarily to our border police. When combat aircraft of the Yugoslav Army violated Hungarian airspace on 28 June 1991, however, the Hungarian Army had to take adequate measures, primarily involving air defense.

Regrouping measures were taken within our Air Force. The six new radar stations deployed along the border are capable of constant surveillance of our airspace at a relatively low altitude, and they can track foreign aircraft even before they arrive in the area. As a result, Hungarian fighters can take off on time and take up defensive positions. Our aircraft have orders to shoot if a foreign aircraft attacks Hungarian territory.

Defense officials took further defensive measures after the unfortunate incident at Barcs. Hungarian aircraft will scramble if any Yugoslav aircraft get within 30 kilometers of the border. This practically rules out a

recurrence of the previous unfortunate delay. Regular helicopter patrols carried out at irregular times also contribute to defending this border and to increasing the feeling of security of Hungarians living along this border.

Naturally, all this has considerably increased defense expenditures, by some 120-150 million forints a day

Some 4,000 soldiers are currently on 24-hour patrol duty with our air defense, more than the normal average.

Increased around-the-clock alertness was also introduced in various ground forces in November 1991 through minor reorganization because the fighting did not seem to diminish along the border and the Hungarian people demanded these measures. Every Hungarian unit continues to be in its peacetime barracks and no tanks or air-defense missiles have been redeployed.

Yugoslav accusations of Hungarian troop deployments are baseless. The accusations published in the Yugoslav, and mainly Serbian, press almost daily are intended to turn public opinion in that country against Hungary by trying to depict some kind of hostile image. A good example of this is the latest accusation published in BORBA of surface-to-surface missile redeployment in Hungary, missiles that Hungary has not had for more than a year. At the same time, it is also a fact that no Hungarian reserves have been mobilized because of the situation in Yugoslavia. Conscripts arrived and troops were discharged according to the original plans, and all were allowed to go on home leave at least once at Christmas or on New Year's Eve.

There would be greater security in Hungary if the fighting stopped in Yugoslavia at long last and there would be peace there.

Skubiszewski Says Ministry Facing Cash Crisis

LD0701213292 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 7 Jan 92

[No video available]

[Excerpts] Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, speaking at a meeting of the Senate Foreign Affairs Commission, said that the funds allocated for the first quarter of 1992 will only allow a basic existence of our foreign missions. The allocation of 184 billion zloties is less than half of what the Ministry needs, and will mean the closing down of almost half our existing diplomatic and consular missions, abandoning the activities of Polish cultural institutes, almost totally abandoning diplomatic trips, halting purchase of computer equipment, and the nonpayment of our contributions to various international organizations. [passage omitted]

The Senate Commissions later proposed an increase of 63 billion zloties to the budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Olszewski Discusses Tasks, Relations With Walesa

AU0801082392 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4-5 Jan 92 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Prime Minister Jan Olszewski by Bozena Wawrzewska and Krzysztof Gottesman in Warsaw on 3 January: "I Will Not Do Anything Impossible"]

[Text] [RZECZPOSPOLITA] Your government has had a difficult birth, and relationships with the president have been tense. Why is this, and will these factors have any effect on the efficient functioning of your government?

[Olszewski] Whether or not my government took a long time to form depends on one's point of view. It could certainly have been formed more quickly, but the Mazowiecki and Bielecki governments required the same amount of time as mine. The period of time between the appointment of the new prime minister and the formation of the cabinet was the same in all cases. I omit, of course, all the political bargaining that accompanies this process.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] How is your relationship with the Belvedere?

[Olszewski] I have worked with Lech Walesa for 12 years, and his work style sometimes causes tension. We have differences of opinion, something quite normal in people who preserve their own personality and identity and who are fond of expressing their opinions, but so far we have never had any major arguments. However, my friendship with Walesa has never been as close as my friendship with other Solidarity advisers. Somehow I have managed to cooperate with Walesa, and I see no reason why my cooperation should deteriorate.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Should relationships between the prime minister and president depend on their personalities?

[Olszewski] No. These relationships depend primarily on legal and constitutional mechanisms. There is no doubt that these mechanisms do not exactly facilitate cooperation between the president and prime minister because there are misunderstandings about the responsibilities of each office. We know that by virtue of the office he holds, the president has certain powers concerning foreign policy and defense. However, these powers are expressed so vaguely that it is often difficult to establish exactly what powers the president has.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] In October you said that the Sejm would probably be politically very diversified, if not fragmented, and that greater presidential powers would be necessary to stabilize the country. Do you still hold that view? What should the balance of power between the president, parliament, and government be like?

[Olszewski] The Sejm is indeed fragmented, but it is functioning far better than I thought it would. Regarding the office of the president, as long as we have no new constitution for the Third Republic, a strong presidency is indispensable, because the present period involves a political transition that is full of tension, and which also contains external dangers. During this period the presidential office should be consolidated by means of a definition its constitutional role. But as soon as we have achieved political stability, we must return to the Polish tradition of a strong parliament. Parliament has always been the highest authority of the land, and the future constitution should uphold its status.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] The coalition you lead has altered its composition over the past few weeks. The Confederation of Independent Poland has left it. The Polish Peasant Party and the Democratic Union are moving closer to the government. Does that prove that what was originally supposed to be a political breakthrough is becoming a mere continuation? This seems all the more likely because you said at a recent Citizens Committee meeting that many Democratic Union activists are friends of yours, with whom you have not parted.

[Olszewski] Right now it is not opinions that matter, but state interests. I have already said that most people do not realize the gravity of our situation, especially the economic situation. Therefore responsibility for the state rests on that group of us authorized to represent society.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] So in what spheres should there be a breakthrough, and in what spheres a continuation?

[Olszewski] As far as work style and dialogue with society are concerned, this government should represent a breakthrough. However, as far as economic policy is concerned, there must not be any spectacular breakthrough. The economy contains very little maneuvering space, and it is necessary to expand this space so that

there is sufficient room for a breakthrough. I do not know how much time that will take, but I hope it will be as short as possible. We must proceed very carefully, however, because in the present situation it is very easy to lose everything we have gained. Nevertheless, achieving our expected gains may be a problem. That is what determines the amount of maneuvering space we need.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz once said that there is one thing the government cannot be; it cannot be opportunistic. Yet he made very unpopular decisions, such as the latest increases in energy prices. How are you going to handle such matters?

[Olszewski] I said that there is very little maneuvering space in the economy. In fact, as long as we are bound by the provisional budget, there is no maneuvering space at all. Therefore, everything is up to not just the government, but also parliament.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] An increase in social unrest is expected, however. How are you going to deal with it? Maciej Jankowski said that if the government decides to cut off electricity supplies, he will personally see to it that the Office of the Council of Ministers, Sejm, and Belvedere are cut off first.

[Olszewski] If these institutions do not pay their electricity bills, they will no doubt be treated like any other customer. I understand that the situation is difficult for some trade unionists, but one must see the other side of the coin and bear in mind the economic situation. Withdrawing state help with electricity, gas, and heating bills has already been accepted as a long-term plan of action, but there is still the question of to what extent withdrawing this help will burden society and how many people actually cannot afford to pay the new energy prices. Some kind of emergency aid must be provided for these people, but only these people. We realize that help with the payment of energy bills is an affront to social justice because everyone takes advantage of this help, whatever his income. Those in a good material situation avail themselves of this help to a greater extent, because they consume more energy. Therefore, abolishing this general help, while at the same time making sure that the poorest people are in fact compensated for their increased energy costs, is an element of social justice.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] So how will you react to the increased social tension?

[Olszewski] By explaining what is possible and what is not. I will not do anything impossible. If it proves impossible to do something I consider essential, the government will have only one way out—resignation. No government can assume responsibility for an economic disaster.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Let us discuss agriculture. You have agreed to accord farmers special protection, e.g. by guaranteeing them minimum prices of agricultural produce. Is that the price your government has paid to win the support of the Polish Peasant Party?

[Olszewski] I did not want to purchase support for my government with unrealistic concessions. Support purchased in this way would quickly end in disaster, but this government must be sensitive to the situation of Polish agriculture. It cannot ignore the negative phenomena that are still with us even after two years of transforming the system.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] The slogan of decommunization served to unite the "five-party" coalition in the beginning. What possibilities do you see of carrying it out, and what would it involve?

[Olszewski] First and foremost, it involves a fundamental alteration to the structure of public life. Our entire apparatus and all its structures are relics of the communist system. Over the past two years we thought we would carry out decommunization with the help of the existing apparatus, which we thought would gradually transform itself at the same time. Well, after two years it looks as if we will never achieve decommunization with this old apparatus. To succeed, we have to change the entire apparatus and then adapt it to the new tasks.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] The previous two governments kept the old apparatus out of necessity.

[Olszewski] History will judge whether or not it was necessary. I only know that with such an apparatus, my government will never achieve any breakthrough, neither in the economy, nor in management methods, nor in dialogue with society. A genuine decommunization is required, in other words abandoning the old structures. Whichever way one looks, one notices that our life is still based on the post-Stalinist system.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Does the government have any program of decommunization?

[Olszewski] Yes, concerning the most urgent spheres. There are spheres where decommunization can wait, but there are other spheres where it is urgent.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] We know that there is a great budget deficit and that attempts will be made to save money by laying off people in the state administration and some social spheres. Yet Minister [without Portfolio, head of the Central Planning Office] Eysymontt claims that unemployment could rise to 3.5 million. People are not hearing about any new jobs, they are not being told that work is a way out of the difficult situation. Do you think a positive program like that would improve peoples' moods?

[Olszewski] That is what we want to do, and that is what the breakthrough is all about. In my Sejm speech I promised that in two or three months we would produce a two or three-year job creation program. We will try to

paint prospects of gradual changes heading toward an improvement in the economic situation.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] In that case, do you fear that presenting such prospects might not be favorably received by some people? Even if the recession is broken, the situation will not improve because we are a poor country. Might you not make the same mistake that the Mazowiecki government made by promising that things would improve in one or two years?

[Olszewski] I do not make any forecasts for the next six months. What I do forecast is that the outline of improvement may appear on the horizon, but there will not be any prosperity for at least three years. Life will merely be more normal, that is all. We will join the road of normal development, and along this road we will start catching up with the more fortunate European countries. It will take some time for us to catch up with them.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] How much time?

[Olszewski] Not very much. For instance, Spain was definitely a backward country before it joined the EC, and then it underwent an acceleration. Therefore, we, too, may hope that events in Poland will proceed better and faster than they did under the old system.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] It has been said that some of this government's decisions were in fact taken by the previous government and that the previous government is responsible for them. Do statements like that erode your government's authority?

[Olszewski] Perhaps they do, but one cannot avoid answering basic questions addressed to this government, questions such as why the increased prices of gas and electricity were not discussed with the trade unions beforehand, as the law requires. If questions like that are asked of us, we must answer them.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] What will be the priorities of Polish foreign policy? How will our country react to what is happening in the East?

[Olszewski] We must display greater energy in this sphere. Our political moves must be adapted to the changing scene. An undoubted success of our foreign policy is the principle of dual-level politics that we introduced at the end of 1990. Had it been possible to implement that policy, it would have won us greater possibilities in 1991, and today we would be in a better starting position. No doubt certain conclusions have been drawn, such as our recognition of Ukraine's independence, followed by our recognition of the independence of other countries that used to belong to the Soviet Union.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] What about the Soviet forces? Will the government change its mind?

[Olszewski] We missed the best opportunity to resolve that problem. Events might take a dangerous turn, but we hope we will resolve the issue. Of course, we should see to it that the evacuation takes place as quickly and painlessly as possible.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] You have still not nominated anyone for the post of deputy prime minister. Is a deputy prime minister unnecessary, or are you reserving the post for someone you trust? Might this lead to an expansion of the coalition?

[Olszewski] I formed this government under time constraints. Some of my interlocutors considered this situation unacceptable. By leaving the post vacant for the time being, I have met them halfway.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] How urgent is it to fill this post?

[Olszewski] Everything is urgent for my government, but some things are more urgent than others. Right now I am dealing with more urgent matters.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Is expanding the coalition also an urgent matter?

[Olszewski] Yes, very much so.

Candidates Issue First Appeals to Electorate

AU0701160992 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1000 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] The campaign has started in Romania for the local elections due on February 9.

Coordinated by a parliamentary commission chaired by Deputy Cazimir Ionescu, the campaign started through radio and television, includes, as of January 6, interviews, statements broadcast at hours of utmost audience. Representatives of political parties have already launched the first appeals to the electorate.

Sergiu Cunescu, leader of the Social Democratic Party of Romania, referred in his radio interview to the forthcoming local elections in the context of the process of Romania's revival, through a return to the old moral traditions of the Romanian people, and also, through its raising up to contemporary Europe's material and spiritual standards. Romania's revival, he said, cannot be achieved by a rarefied group. It must be accomplished by the inhabitants of all localities of the country, by the whole nation, and in this respect the February local elections are of outstanding importance.

Professor Alexandru Rosu, in behalf of the Ecological Movement of Romania, stressed on radio that the current election campaign is "a major moment of truth." Professor Rosu opined that the forthcoming local elections had to go beyond the political realm and refer to the realm of "administration" that required the finding of people fully dedicated to the community.

As is natural, the Ecological Movement links its whole thinking to the idea that "a good administration should be associated with the understanding of nature."

Speaking on radio in behalf of the National Liberal Party, Nicolae Cerveni termed the local elections as "an historic event." "We pursue to redeem the liberal and democratic spirit through our elected representatives, mayors or counselors in administrative units, a spirit which is a must if Romania is to be freed of fright and arbitrariness, abuse and injustice." Cerveni opined that the major difficulties in the current campaign were associated with the old structures of communist extraction and the indifference which has been lately manifest in the mass of voters. "If we manage to remove these two obstacles," he stressed, "we are sure that Romania will soon have an administration that will open the road to democracy and freedom."

Radu Cojocaru, speaking on behalf of the Liberal Party, highlighted in the first radio programs that at this moment Romania "needs a clever and dynamic local administration," which the Liberal Party considered to be "fully feasible." Referring to liberalism as a fundamental conception of his party, Cojocaru stressed that it "means local autonomy and decentralization," that "the control by some functionary of a remote and often corrupt central administration" was no longer needed.

The leadership of the Republican Party announced through its leader, Professor Ion Manzatu, in the first program on TV the beginning of its party's election campaign under the motto "a party for people instead of people for a party."

A note of the Romanian Television referring to the election campaign shows that the television "does not assume any responsibility for the political statements of the parties and their nominees, but it shall not accept anticonstitutional stands or stands insulting political formations or parties."

The main electoral program of the television is "Electoral Studio" which covers 90 minutes, daily broadcast by the national station, except for Saturdays and Sundays.

The "Electoral Studio" is a live program made in five territorial studios: Bucharest, Cluj, Iasi, Craiova and Timisoara.

The television also has a 15-minute electoral diary daily.

After consultations with the government, the television declared its readiness to accommodate on its frequencies programs of the independent local stations, without affecting the central program of the other stations.

Verdet Protests Election Obstacles for PSM

AU0701170792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1523 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/1/1992—"We are making a protest against the attempt at boycotting the participation of the Socialist Party of Labour, PSM, in the local elections, Ilie Verdet, PSM chairman, former high-rank member of the Romanian Communist Party, told a Tuesday, 7 January news conference, referring to the notification made by the electoral commission of the city of Bucharest saying that PSM cannot take part in the elections as it was not registered by Bucharest Court. Mr. Verdet said that decision was "arbitrary, abusive and undemocratic" and announced PSM held position 27 in the register book of the political parties, where it was entered on 20 November 1990. Ilie Verdet mentioned that on 3 January 1992 he sent a memo to Romania's president, the presidents of the two chambers of the Romanian Parliament, he Supreme Court of Justice and the prime minister to explain the situation, in which he underlined that an attempt was being made to expel the democratic left forces out of the electoral campaign and deprive them of their constitutional right to participate in the 9 February local elections.

The memo was signed on 6 January 1992 by the chairmen of the Socialist Party of Labour, the Neoliberal Movement, the Romanian Party for a New Society and the General Association for Defending the Right To Work, which make up the Democratic Left Union.

In answer to journalists' questions, Mr. Verdet insisted on the fact that "PSM is a newly created party, a national

party defending the interests of those who work to earn their means of living." He pointed out that "communism had no future in Romania" and mentioned that "national reconciliation was the Romanians' only chance to overcome the present crisis. Mr. Verdet added he was favouring a cooperation of all democratic forces in Romania.

Dinescu Statement Demands Cultural Subsidies

AU0701200592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1653 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/1/1991—At the close of talks Tuesday, 7 January, between a delegation of the Writers' Union with Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan, union president poet Mircea Dinescu said, in a statement for the press, that the issues raised regarded the soaring selling prices of books—which have by now become inaccessible to large segments of the population—of literary magazines, which are almost suffocated by the avalanche of the so called consumer culture of western type, including scandal and porno publications. It is hoped, said the poet, that the "Biblioteca Pentru Toti" (Everyman's Library) collection will be subsidised. The popularity now of cheap literature, he said, threatens true literature, which finds itself sidelined and doomed to perish, concluded the Writers' Union president.

"Definitely, Romanian culture must not be allowed to die," said government spokeswoman Iolanda Staniloiu while referring to the talks Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan had with and a delegation of the Writers' Union Tuesday, 7 January.

The talks were not confined to a mere note-taking, said the spokeswoman, they led to some concrete solutions, such as the union's stamp, for which a government resolution is to be drafted to amend the regulations in force covering this right of the Writers Union. Similarly, Mrs. Staniloiu said Premier Stolojan favoured the inclusion of pensions for the members of the Writers Union in a coherent national system.

The issue of the literary magazines is still to be decided, said Mrs. Staniloiu, pending examination by a special commission to include representatives of the Ministry of Economy and Finance, Ministry of Culture and the Information Department, that will appraise what can be done to save literary magazines.

Second Population, Housing Census Begins 7 Jan

AU0701200392 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1900 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Excerpts] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/1/1992—The second census of population and dwellings in Romania's modern history started today, January 7, 1992. The census will be taken according to the most modern international recipes and the whole operation will cost roughly 1 billion lei. This extensive operation, which is demographic, economic and social in character and is considered the most complex social inquiry conducted in a modern state, takes place after an unnaturally long period (after the census taken in March 1977). According to regular standards, this census should have been taken in 1987, after a normal span of ten years, but the totalitarian regime considered the political moment was not proper for a census whose cost was too high.

The National Statistics Board, under which the Central Census Commission operates, conducted extensive operations to check the names of streets and buildings and to draw maps of localities and the personnel employed to take the census was trained for that vast sociological inquiry. [passage omitted]

The preliminary results of the census will be made known in May and the definitive results at the end of the year.

Ministry Releases Unemployment Figures for 1992

AU0701160392 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1223 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/1/1991—According to the data centralized at the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection, almost 266,000 unemployed on the rolls of the labour offices, started the new year 1992 with a hope for the so craved for jobs.

Worth mentioning is the fact that of the total people looking for a job women are the worst affected by this social scourge: There are 158,145 of them jobless. By socio-professional categories, industrial workers supply the bulk with 223,776 jobless, the medium-trained persons 34,198 and highly trained ones 8,000.

Labour office also have 71,462 persons on their records who do not fill the requirements of the unemployment law.

The Ministry of Labour and Social Protection has ensured benefits accounting for 60 per cent of the indexed net basic wages for 594,760 employees of the commercial companies whose activity was stopped in November 1991 because of energy shortage. The benefits total some 1 billion lei.

International

Account of JNA Shooting of EC Helicopters

LD0701184592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] Some time after 1300 GMT today, an aircraft of the Yugoslav Army shot down a helicopter near Novi Marof with five members of the EC observer mission on board. The enemy MiG also hit another helicopter with air-to-air missiles and machine gun fire, but the second helicopter managed to land in the village of Madzarevo near Novi Marof, and its crew, who were also members of the EC observer mission, were unhurt.

There is a frightful sight at the place where the first helicopter came down. The remains of the five crew members and parts of their burned helicopter are scattered over forest and meadow near the village of (Podefcivo), about 10 km from Novi Marof.

According to witnesses, the enemy MiG fired a burst of machine gun fire and two air-to-air missiles, one of which hit the EC helicopter. The helicopter immediately burst into flames and crashed. The inhabitants of nearby villages rushed to extinguish the fire, but by that time the crew was beyond help.

Members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia have gone to the scene, and a group of EC observers also arrived from Zagreb. We have received information from the Varazdin Information Center that the flight of the EC observer mission helicopter had been announced in advance.

Defense Secretariat Statement

LD0701195992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1928 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Jan (TANJUG)—The information department of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense [SSNO] has been authorized to announce:

Today, at 1309 GMT, an aircraft of the Air Force and Air Defense, in the broad region of Varazdin, shot down one helicopter and damaged another of the EC observer mission. They were on a flight path between Kaposvar and Zagreb.

In connection with this undesired and tragic incident, the SSNO expresses its profound regret and informs the public that an urgent investigation has been ordered for the purpose of establishing all the circumstances that led to this incident. The public will be informed of the results of the investigation, and legal measures will be taken against the culprits. The SFRY Pesidency has been informed of this incident.

Air Force Commander Suspended

LD0701213692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2046 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Jan (TANJUG)—The Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs [SSIP] informed the SFRY Presidency, which met tonight in Belgrade in its function as supreme commander of the SFRY Armed Forces, about the helicopter shot down on a flight path between Kaposvar and Zagreb. Members of the EC observer mission were killed and forced to land another helicopter of this mission. The SFRY Presidency adopted the decision to suspend Colonel General Zvonko Jurjevic, commander of the Air Force and Air Defense, and ordered the SSIP, as supreme command headquarters, to undertake an urgent investigation of this incident and its tragic consequences.

Expressing special regret at the loss of human lives, the SFRY Presidency sends its condolences to members of the families of those killed and to the governments of the countries who sent them on their honorable and responsible peace mission, the SFRY Presidency statement stresses.

EC Demands Investigation

LD0801035892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0044 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] Brussels, Jan 7 (TANJUG)—The European Community demanded this evening that an inquiry be opened at once into the circumstances surrounding the downing of a helicopter of its monitor mission in Croatia in order to establish responsibility for the incident. In a statement issued in Brussels this evening, the EC and its member states instructed the head of the observer mission in Yugoslavia to urgently form a commission of inquiry which would include representatives of the warring sides in Yugoslavia.

The community and its member states, the statement said, would like to point to the obligations taken on by all sides in the Yugoslav conflict, for the safety of every member of the observer mission to be guaranteed. They were asked to unconditionally abstain from any action which could endanger the current cease-fire, as a precondition for a peaceful solution.

The Yugoslav Defence Ministry said this evening that a Yugoslav Air Force (JRV) jet had shot down today one helicopter of the EC's observer mission and damaged a second. Five members of the observer mission were killed in the downed helicopter, which was flying towards Zagreb from the direction of the town of Kaposvar in Hungary. The Yugoslav Presidency this evening suspended the JRV's commander, Colonel General Zvonko Jurjevic.

FEC Commission Established

LD0801164492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1252 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Jan (TANJUG)—The Federal Executive Council [FEC] at its session today, presided over by Aleksandar Mitrovic, examined a report of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense regarding the downing of an EC observer mission helicopter and familiarized itself with activities of the Federal Secretariat for National Defence in connection with the establishment of concrete responsibility for that incident. In connection with the tragic event, the FEC's Information Secretariat has reported, profound regret and condolences have been conveyed to the governments of Italy and France, and also to the families of killed members of the EC monitoring mission.

The Federal Executive Council condemns that incident, which represents a crude violation of the cease-fire agreement. In this connection a decision has been adopted to to set up a commission, according to the law on air traffic, which would be composed of representatives of the Federal Secretariat for Traffic and Communications, the Federal Air-Control Administration, the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, and the Federal Secretariat for Justice.

A stand was assumed that representatives of the relevant bodies of Italy, France, and the EC monitoring mission may take part in the work of the commission. The commission should examine all circumstances under which the helicopter was shot down, institute an investigation, and inform the FEC on the results of its work as soon as possible. A conclusion was reached that relevant federal and republican bodies should take all measures to prevent the recurrence of any kind of incidents, to secure full protection and guarantee safety to the EC and UN monitoring missions.

The Federal Executive Council will inform UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali, his special envoy Cyrus Vance, the EC Ministerial Council President, Portugese Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro, and the chairman of the conference on Yugoslavia, about measures and activities that the FEC has undertaken.

The Federal Executive Council holds that this tragic incident will not undermine the initiated peace actions of the United Nations and the deployment of the peacekeeping forces in Yugoslavia. On its part, the Federal Government will, within the scope of its competence, do everything so that the initiated UN peace actions and the conference on Yugoslavia in Brussels should continue.

Having examined reports by relevant federal bodies on the implementation of the Sarajevo cease-fire agreement, the Federal Executive Council concluded that the cease-fire has been almost completely observed. That is, according to the FEC assessment, the most important condition for the adoption of a decision on the deployment of the peacekeeping forces in Yugoslavia. Therefore, it was stressed, all warring sides, and also relevant bodies of the federation and the republics, should do everything in the view of observing the cease-fire that will create conditions for the lasting cessation of hostilities and the reestablishment of peace in the whole country.

Adm. Brovet Promises Inquiry

AU0801095092 Paris AFP in English 0931 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] Lisbon, Jan 8 (AFP)—Yugoslav Deputy Defence Minister Admiral Brovet has promised European Community observers that a "thorough investigation" will be made to identify and punish federal Air Force personnel who shot down an EC helicopter in Croatia Tuesday [7January], the Foreign Ministry said Wednesday [8 January]. A ministry official said the EC observer mission formed by ambassadors of Portugal, the Netherlands and Britain had called for "impartial experts" to be included in the enquiry ordered by the Serbian-dominated federal Presidency.

On Tuesday night, the Presidency ordered Air Force Commander General Zvonko Jurjevic to be suspended.

Brovet expressed "profound consternation" to the EC envoys over what he called a "tragic incident" and promised a "thorough investigation" of the affair, the ministry spokesman said. Portugal currently holds the rotating EC Presidency. A French officer and four Italian military observers were killed when a missile fired by a federal Air Force MiG jet hit the EC helicopter. A second helicopter was damaged and made an emergency landing.

The helicopters were clearly marked in EC colours and U.N. officials have suggested the attack was a bid by Serbian hardliners to derail international peace efforts.

Foreign Ministry Regrets 'Accident'

LD0701202592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1936 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Jan (TANJUG)—The Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs (SSIP) announced this evening that the Yugoslav Government expresses its profound regret over today's tragic incident [dogadjaj] near Varazdin, in which five representatives of the EC observer mission lost their lives.

The investigation that is being carried out will establish all the circumstances leading to this accident [nesreca], the SSIP statement sent to TANJUG notes.

The hope is also being expressed in the Federal Secretariat that this tragic incident will not hamper the efforts of the international community to establish a lasting and stable peace in our country.

EC Schedules Meeting With JNA

LD0801102992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0904 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Statement by Joao da Silva, EC mission spokesman, at the EC mission headquarters in Zagreb on 8 January—recorded]

[Excerpts] So, as I said yesterday, our head of mission has requested an immediate meeting of the tripartite commission and we are waiting at this stage for a reply from the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] side about who is going to come to this meeting.

In this meeting we want to know the exact circumstances of what has occurred yesterday and we want to obtain the necessary guarantees that will allow all monitors to perform their job. And until this meeting is held and we get these guarantees the activities of all monitors on the ground are interrupted. So until...[changes thought] they are interrupted until this meeting is held and we get the explanation from (?that) side about what happened. [passage omitted]

At 11 o'clock today there will be a tripartite meeting in this hotel.

JNA Fails To Show for EC Talks

LD0801112592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] A meeting between representatives of the Croatian Army, the Yugoslav Army, and EC monitors has been postponed because the federal army has not sent its official negotiator. The meeting was convened by Joao Guerra Salgueiro, the Portugese ambassador and the head of the EC monitoring mission, in order to resolve problems following yesterday's incident when the Yugoslav Army downed a helicopter of the EC monitoring mission, killing five people.

EC mission spokesman Joao da Silva confirmed that the European monitors will suspend all their activities until the Yugoslav Army is ready to guarantee that similar tragedies will not be repeated, that is, until the personal safety of the European monitors is guaranteed.

Greguric Sends Condolences to EC

LD0701171792 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] In connection with the downing of a helicopter carrying EC observers, Prime Minister Dr. Franjo Greguric, on behalf of the government of Croatia, sent the following letter to the head of the EC observers mission, His Excellency Ambassador Joao Salgueiro:

Please convey the deepest condolences of the government of the Republic of Croatia to the families of those members of the observers mission who were killed. Even at this regretful time of the loss of the lives of members of the observers mission who selflessly made themselves available to help the international community to halt the war against Croatia, I wish to express my thanks for the services of goodwill that have been offered, and also to express the respects of citizens of Croatia to the members of the observers mission for their involvement hitherto.

The latest violation of the cease-fire agreement signed in Sarajevo on 2 January 1992 proves that the Yugoslav Army does not intend to adhere to the obligations it undertook, and the attack on the EC mission helicopter bears witness to the readiness of the Yugoslav Army to embark on a fresh escalation of the conflict and to provoke the international community, reads Dr. Franjo Greguric's letter.

Serbian Government: 'Blow' to Peace

LD0801060492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0429 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 8 (TANJUG)— The government of the Republic of Serbia said yesterday's downing of a helicopter of the EC observer mission was a blow to efforts made for maintaining the truce and urgently bringing to Yugoslavia a UN peacekeeping force. The Serbian Government, in a statement handed to TANJUG on Tuesday evening, demanded a thorough inquiry to find and severely punish those responsible for the incident.

The Yugoslav Defence Ministry said last night that one helicopter had been shot down and another damaged by a Yugoslav Air Force (JRV) jet near Varazdin, about 80 kilometres north of Zagreb, the capital of the secessionist Yugoslav Republic of Croatia. Five members of the observer mission were killed in the downed helicopter, which was flying towards Zagreb from the direction of Kaposvar in Hungary.

Carrington on 'Tragic' Incident

LD0701185292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1823 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Excerpt] London, Jan 7 (TANJUG)—Chairman of the peace conference on Yugoslavia Lord Carrington said this evening on the fourth channel of British radio that the death of five EC truce monitors in Yugoslavia was tragic, particularly for their families. He expressed hope that today's incident was an isolated case and that it would not threaten peace efforts. He simultaneously warned against the drawing of hasty conclusions about who was responsible for the shooting down of the helicopters. [passage omitted]

Message Sent to UN on Arms Embargo Violations

LD0701172692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1535 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Jan (TANJUG)—Hungary, Germany, Austria, and some other countries are directly violating the general arms embargo to Yugoslavia introduced with

the UN Security Council resolution at the end of September last year. This is stressed in a Yugoslav Government memorandum sent to the Security Council on 2 January, the text of which the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs sent to TANJUG today.

Noting the gravity of the situation and the serious consequences which will arise if the Yugoslav crisis is not solved and international peace is not attained, the Yugoslav Government calls on the Security Council to "act without delay to prevent further violation of the decision on a general and complete embargo on the importation of arms and military equipment into Yugoslavia." Detailed information is cited in the document on the dates and kinds of arms deliveries to Croatia, and on the foreign banks, companies, and individuals who took part in these transactions. It states that on 19 December, 60 tanks were unloaded in Rijeka harbor delivered from Germany, from where two weeks earlier four 203mm howitzers arrived via Austria. The memorandum also says that at the end of September the delivery of a large number of Stinger and Milan missiles to Croatia valued at 60 million dollars was agreed.

The Yugoslav Government goes on to say that camps have been organized in Hungary for training Croatian armed formations and that from this country individuals and groups are infiltrated into Yugoslavia to carry out sabotage and terrorist actions, including the massacre of the inhabitants of the village of Torjanci carried out on 30 November. The memorandum stresses that the involvement of foreign citizens, particularly mercenaries, in the Croatian armed forces is acquiring increasing dimensions and that in Italy, for example, appeals for volunteers to join the Croatian armed forces are appearing in the press. In this context it is added that the main planner and organizer in the headquarters of the Croatian units for Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem is Gyula Attila, a lieutenant colonel of the Hungarian Army. The Croatian forces also include a unit of legionnaires from various countries which is commanded by Ante Ross, a major in the French foreign legion. At the end of the document there is a list of the dead, captured, and wounded foreigners from the ranks of the Croatian armed forces. These include Britons, Germans, and French.

Federal

JNA, Croat Armies Establish Communication Links

AU0701200492 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] The talks between the Yugoslav People's Army and the representatives of the Headquarters of the Croatian Army that were held at the request of the Croatian side, and in accordance with Point 2 of the Sarajevo Agreement, were successfully concluded in the post office building in Bosanski Brod this evening. The talks were held in the presence of the EC observers. The Croatian side was led by Zlatko Tisper, while the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army was represented by Major General Risto Zerajic.

The two sides held talks on establishing and extending the existing system of communications, so that if the cease-fire is violated the two sides can effectively establish contact with each other. The agreement on establishing efficient communications between the warring sides on the battlefields in Croatia refers to the entire territory of this republic, that is to say, to all places where the warring sides are in contact.

The participants in the negotiations in Bosanski Brod tonight signed a document that lays down precisely the methods and deadlines for establishing links between the warring sides. Teams from the Yugoslav People's Army, the Croatian Army, and the Croatian Post Office and Communications will already be out in the field tomorrow morning. We have learned that communications will be established on the main Zagreb-Banja Luka and Sarajevo-Belgrade roads.

We have also learned from reliable sources that a direct line between the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army in Belgrade and the headquarters of the Croatian army in Zagreb was established on Saturday [4 January] night. Today's negotiations in Bosanski Brod are aimed at reinforcing a lasting truce in Croatia. Warriors are perhaps already fed up with the war.

Economic Cooperation Between Serbia, Bosnia Viewed

92BA0288B Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 13 Dec 91 p 1

[Article by D. Stanisic: "Preventive Measures, Not an Embargo"]

[Text] Yesterday, a bridge of cooperation was once again established between the republics of Serbia and Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H]. That in briefest outline was the basic message for observation from yesterday's talks between delegations of the governments of these republics, which were finally arranged in Belgrade and which were headed by the deputy prime ministers on both sides.

Here is what we were told last night by Dr. Milivoje Nadazdin, minister for agriculture, forestry, and water management in the B-H government, after he returned from Belgrade:

"Full agreement was reached on all the matters that were on the agenda. If the decree of the government of the Republic of Serbia is read in a certain way, it can be concluded that an embargo was not adopted toward the Republic of B-H. It is actually a question of a preventive measure extending over securing production supplies for food production and also fully prepared food, and at the same time it has to do with the need for an agreement concerning more optimum disposition of food in the spatially defined region of Yugoslavia," Minister Nadazdin said, and he continued:

"All the goods which the Republic of Serbia had previously been paid for will be delivered to purchasers in B-H. The most urgent issue here is for raw materials for the livestock feed industry and also all the feeds to meet the needs of poultry production in B-H. A joint agreement was reached on this matter today in Belgrade, and there was also agreement on joint policy in ensuring free and unhindered flow of goods on the space of the two republics. A precondition for this, so we agreed, is an extremely harsh attitude and control of goods across B-H space through the channels of the black market to the western parts of Yugoslavia, where the market for those goods is at the moment at a much higher level."

Without concealing his satisfaction with today's talks in Belgrade, especially with their final outcome, Minister Nadazdin also told us something about a new meeting between Serbian and B-H ministers, but this time in Sarajevo. "Because of the definite agreement on all details, sometime next week representatives of the government of the Republic of Serbia (the minister for agriculture, trade, and commodity reserves) will come to Sarajevo, where we will get together and talk about preparations of the overall need to build up supplies of strategic goods for next year. Likewise," Nadazdin said in conclusion, "it was agreed that we would also solve the problems of increasing the efficiency of all branches of transportation between the two republics."

Paper Predicts 1992 Budget To Spur Inflation

LD0601173492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1554 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text6] Belgrade, January 6 (TANJUG)—Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES writes on Monday that the federal budget—adopted by the Assembly of Yugoslavia in late December—would become the prime source of high inflation in 1992, but that there was no other alternative.

Of the 305.1 billion dinars (some 24.3 billlion German marks under the official exchange rate and 4.3 billion German marks under the rates of the commercial banks) as much as 70 percent of the primary money—which will be the chief source of inflation—is to be set aside for the federal budget. Last year, some 62 percent of the primary money issue was used to the finance the federal budget, which the republics had denied revenues.

The Yugoslav People's Army accounts in this year's budgetary spending for 66 percent, which, as set out by POLITIKA EKSPRES, was neveretheless, below the figure in the preceding years. Setting aside the funds for the Yugoslav Army would have been unavoidable also had there been no war on Yugoslav territory, because this pertained to funding a necessary institution.

Slovenia

Serbian Vehicle Insurance Hikes Protested

LD0801092192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1850 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] Ljubljana, 7 Jan (TANJUG)—The Slovene Foreign Ministry sent a protest to the Serbian Foreign Ministry because of the introduction of the compulsory payment of additional insurance, to the tune of 540 Deutsch marks, on vehicles with Slovene plates upon entry into the Republic of Serbia.

The protest stresses that these measures have been introduced in a one-sided way and without prior provision of information, as a result of which, it is claimed by the Slovenian Foreign Ministry, lines of vehicles are already forming on the Serbian border because transport companies in Slovenia do not have the funds to pay the insurance.

The Slovenian Foreign Ministry calls on those responsible in the Republic of Serbia to abolish this measure. If this does not happen, the protest by the Republic of Slovenia intimates, similar reciprocal measures will be introduced for vehicles from Serbia.

Disagreements Between Peterle, Rupel Noted

92BA0294A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 13 Dec 91 p 2

[Article by Vinko Vasle: "The Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister Already Know Why They Are Quarreling"—first paragraph is DELO headline]

[Text] The history of the disputes between Lojze Peterle and Dimitrij Rupel is a long one, and the roots go back to conceptual differences; the traveling prime minister.

Ljubljana, 13 Dec—The present conflict between Prime Minister Lojze Peterle and Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel is one of several political and conceptual divergences that start with very different views of the government's work, and extend to ideological divergences, all the way up to different views of Slovenia's international activity. The public learned about the tensions between Peterle and Rupel for the first time after the "famous" meeting of the Demos Council in the Urska Hotel on 4 January 1991, at which the prime minister proposed the replacement of the foreign minister. He criticized Rupel because Slovenia has not achieved what it could have on the foreign policy level, and the foreign minister rebutted the prime minister's criticism with the observation that the latter was not capable of coordinating the work of the individual government ministries.

Several days later, on 12 January, the Demos Deputies' Club met in Poljce, and at that meeting Dimitrij Rupel spoke about the revival of clericalism in Slovenia, which was said to be a danger similar to communism. Lojze Peterle took this to be an attack against the Christian Democrats. He said that this was an artificial dilemma

and that through the criticism that the Christian Democrats were "parasites upon the achievements of the Slovene spring," Rupel was denying the political role of his party. Peterle was obviously not prepared to forgive Rupel for this, especially since he saw in this a dangerous polarization within Demos, which later grew and ended with the collapse of the SDZ [Slovene Democratic Alliance] into two parties. This reduced the solidity of the Demos coalition, since the Democratic Party was not willing to support the government's proposed law on transforming the ownership of enterprises.

At the same time, one should not overlook the foreign policy "competitive struggles" of the two men. At the beginning of March, they got into each other's hair again. There were complications with the preparations for a Slovene visit to influential French politicians. At that time, Peterle criticized Rupel because his ministry was too slow, saying that it needed 14 days to establish contacts with Paris, and that Rupel was exploiting his position as foreign minister to publicize his own party abroad. At that time Peterle even said at a meeting of the government (Rupel was absent) that he was no longer prepared to cooperate with the Foreign Ministry. Several days later Rupel rebutted all of the prime minister's criticisms in writing.

On 5 June, during a discussion in parliament on the independence legislation, Finance Minister Dusan Sesok said that it only meant the normative independence of Slovenia, and that it would still be necessary to wait for actual independence. This upset not only the deputies, but also Rupel's SDZ. The party criticized Peterle and his government for their inertia in preparing for independence, and counting too much upon separating from Yugoslavia by agreement. The statement was signed by Dr. Rupel. The very next day, Peterle criticized Rupel for stabbing him in the back.

Also known is a dispute between the prime minister and the foreign minister because of Peter Millonig, who was supposed to represent Slovenia in the United States. Rupel did not agree, and criticized Millonig for a number of mistakes.

There were even more similar "diplomatic" disagreements. The Foreign Ministry and the Republic Presidency proposed Zvone Dragan for the Slovene representative in Washington, but the prime minister insisted upon Ignac Golob. Dragan was dropped because of the criticism that he was a Bolshevik. Later, a compromise was adopted—Dr. Ernest Petric left for Washington.

In general, there has been a great deal of confusion, since all of the characteristics of party struggles (and also within Demos) have also been manifested in foreign policy. On several occasions, party standards have prevailed over professional ones in the appointment of new diplomats.

At the very beginning, when recognition of Slovenia was still very far off, we had a sort of "wild development of Slovene diplomacy," when individuals abroad became authorized representives of the prime minister or the president of the Presidency, or authorized representatives of someone unknown. That authority was mostly a sort of status symbol, and it is true that in certain causes those authorized representatives did a great deal for the promotion of Slovenia on the international scene; some, of course, did nothing. Slovenia was duped by many of them. Specifically, no one made any assessment beforehand of what their motives were like when they offered their "services" to the Slovene government. Many of them wanted to perform the work of a paid lobbyist. This caused several surprises when large bills started to arrive in Ljubljana from people who had previously claimed that they wanted to represent Slovenia out of patriotism.

The high bills and undetermined services of Peter Millonig, for example, are known.

Certainly, Karl Smolle is among those authorized representatives who were effective. It was because of him, however, that polemics occurred over whether Slovenia could be represented in Austria (and abroad, in general) by someone who was not a citizen of it. That standard is very important in international relations. This, we have heard, was also one of the reasons why Smolle resigned. It seems that he has not forgotten Rupel's ministry because of this, as demonstrated now by a letter that he sent to the Demos leadership and to Dr. Joze Pucnik, in which he wrote, among other things, that Dr. Rupel's statements at a meeting of Ljubljana democrats seemed to him to be "unprecedented and in any case harmful to the successful promotion of the Republic of Slovenia abroad, and very dangerous precisely during these very unstable times of Slovenia's recognition, which is by no means yet universal and 100 percent."

Actually, the conflict is between two concepts of our foreign policy: Rupel and the Foreign Ministry have insisted upon professionalism, which should also be the criterion for employment; Peterle and part of the government, however, have shown through several [word indistinct] that they are more inclined toward amateurism and party pedigree, as also indicated by certain names of Slovene ministers and of others who were to leave for the diplomatic service abroad.

Of course, the activity of our politicians on the foreign policy scene is also becoming an extremely prestigious and important issue for party struggles as well during the period prior to recognition. This is also the reason for certain attempts to discredit people (Rupel is even supposed to have become Kucan's man) and to prove that certain individuals deserve more credit for the promotion of Slovenia abroad than others.

Not least of all, tensions have existed between Rupel and Peterle because of the prime minister's tireless travels abroad, where the foreign minister has not exactly been a desired partner. In the course of this year (until the end of November), Prime Minister Lojze Peterle has visited 17 countries, and made a total of 33 visits. He made one visit apiece to the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Great

Britain, the Russian Federation, Belorussia, Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and the United States; he made two visits apiece to Belgium, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Hungary; he has been in Italy six times, and in Austria seven times. Among the 33 visits, 17 have been intergovernmental ones; the others were at the level of interparty cooperation, academic ones (lectures and symposiums), and various "holidays." The Foreign Ministry only cooperated in 16 visits; it was informed about nine of the prime minister's visits, but not yet about eight of them. In many cases, however, the Ministry's involvement has been limited solely to organizational preparations.

The collapse of the SDZ, which both Pirnat's party and Rupel's new one are trying to exploit for promotional purposes in the expectation of new elections, was essentially an announcement of new divisions in Slovene politics, and the origin of the so-called political center in Slovenia. The sharpness with which Rupel dealt with right-wing occurrences and contents at the meeting of Ljubljana democrats—a right wing in which he obviously classifies Pirnat's SDZ-NDS [SDZ-National Democratic Party] and Peterle's Christian Democrats—is certainly a new sign of decisive and ruthless party struggles in the expectation of new elections. This will cause new and perhaps even crucial tensions and differentiations within Demos.

Dispute Over Article in Constitution Viewed

92BA0259C Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
11 Dec 91 p 1

[Article by Majda Vukelic: "Draft of the New Slovene Constitution"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 10 Dec—On 4 December, the Republic Constitutional Commission prepared a draft for the new Slovene constitution, on which the deputies in the Slovene Assembly are to take a position on 23 December.

This new constitution is to have close to 170 articles, and the Constitutional Commission has reached agreement on all the solutions, except for the 55th article, which talks about the right to make a free decision on giving birth to children. Dr. France Bucar, the president of the Slovene parliament and of its Constitutional Commission, has therefore called upon the parties to coordinate positions on this article as well. In any case, he will not put the draft constitution (we are publishing it in its entirety on pages 10, 11, and 12) on the agenda, since in this case it would not be possible to achieve a two-thirds' majority, which is the condition for the adoption of this document, and the failure of the constitution would mean that the parliament could not put a new draft constitution on the agenda for an entire year.

In recent days, two compromise solutions have also been offered: According to the first one, a law would regulate decisions on giving birth to children, and the law would be adopted by the state assembly with a two-thirds' majority of all the deputies, so that outvoting would not be possible. According to the second one, the controversial article would be left out of the constitution, and put into a constitutional law in such a way as to prevent legal change in this issue in accordance with the ongoing balance of political forces in parliament.

The Constitutional Commission is to adopt a position on both possibilities (this is planned for next Tuesday), and as early as Friday a special commission is to meet under the leadership of Dusan Plut and try to achieve political agreement.

POLITIKA Discusses 'Ethnic Purity' Issue

92BA0288C Belgrade POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 12 Dec 91 p 14

[Article by Stevan Petrovic: "The Ethnically Pure Citizen"]

[Text] Maribor, 11 Dec—A short time ago, Pavel Kogoj, the city's chief for personnel problems, wrote in an article entitled "The Ethnically Pure Citizen" that there are a certain number of cultural institutions in Ljubljana headed by directors who are not Slovenes. A few days ago, MLADINA of Ljubljana, Korade writes, published an interview with the "fastidious chief for personnel and matters of ethnic purity" in which the most recent hunter for directors who are not Slovene explained that professional competence and nationality are categories which have the same importance, but in any case considerably more important than nationality alone and professional competence. Nationality for Kogoj, who has been popularizing ideas characteristic of the fascistoid circles today in France belonging to the Lapin right, is not a criterion by which "all possible people" can become a citizen. Thus, modernization of Slovenian society has itself come to be in a paradoxical position....

It is not just a question of the way people handle the instruments of power. They abuse that power, they are interweaving authority more and more with the instruments of fascism, with elements which have very little in common with the projects for modernization of various societies. They actually have far more to do with carving up those societies. Thus, it turns out that the future society, in addition to the hunt that is already in full swing for the so-called "reds," will also have to undertake a hunt for directors who are not Slovenes! Will professional competence soon have to give way to membership in a particular party and even the so-called "right nationality"? Dragica Korade wonders. The Christian Democrats, the Social Democrats, and the Democrats in Murska Sobota have already been sharing Kogoj's concern about ethnically pure conduct of Slovenian cultural policy and institutions; in their well-known press release, they warned representatives of the Slovenian Presidency, the government, deputies in the republic Assembly, and party leaders that they must all understand that citizenship in Slovenia should be "honestly earned."

"Because the gentlemen in question have not offered a personal reputation for something of that kind, we must assume that all these people have seen in the present law on citizenship in Slovenia an auctioning off of the dignity of the Slovenian people," the VECER newspaperwoman says, "and they have actually earned that honor of becoming citizens of Slovenia" because "their mothers accidentally were members of the 'dignified Slovenian people.'" Members of all other, obviously undignified, Yugoslav nationalities, judging by their formula, will never be able to earn the right to become Slovenian citizens, because according to the Mura patriots it is quite clear that citizens of the SFRY "cannot remain in a state in which they never have and never will be loyal" except, they are convinced, to their own nationality.

"Because that is the way they have always been, and will be in the future, it is clear that the Slovenes never have and never will accept those people as their own."

Something of that kind, Dragica Korade says, Slovenes might somehow "swallow" if the people referred to had their pockets full of German marks, because, by the estimate of the Mura "national heroes" there are already between 25,000 and 30,000 people on the unemployment rolls in Slovenia. Why in this case, the Maribor newspaperwoman asked, would such ideologues not "resort to the old fascist tricks" and transform the most urgent worker issue into an ethnic issue? Certainly the dignity of the Slovene people, according to the woman who wrote the article, "could put up with that."

Dignity, the notable article in VECER went on to say, is not a matter of honesty or any other merits, but lies in Article 4 of the 1793 Revolutionary Constitution, which speaks about the status of the citizen and about every adult foreigner who has been settled in France for a year being consistently accorded not only civil rights, but also the rights of active citizenship. Citizenship expresses in legal terms that a man belongs to a state. Legal belonging does not presuppose his emotional belonging.

It is exclusively the private affair of the citizen as to whether he is emotionally tied to the government apparatus or not. However, if people are making policy because of their personal problems, in this case, we will get a "Model 1991" Yugoslavia, Dragica Korade, who at the moment is the most authoritative newspaperwoman of VECER in Maribor, says in the conclusion of this notable article.

Discrimination Against Minorities Reported

92BA0266B Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 12 Dec 91 p 5

[Unattributed article: "Undesirables—Blacks and Non-Slovenes"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 11 Dec—The numerous parties and movements in Slovenia have been joined by yet another, on the very anniversary of the adoption of the UN Declaration of Human Rights. The group in question is a movement for the national unity of Slovenia, which supports the following program goals: revocation of the current Law on Citizenship and the adoption of a new one with stricter criteria; the adoption of a resolution on taking citizenship away from all non-Slovenes who gained citizenship after 25 December of last year; and the expulsion of 90 percent of the non-Slovenes living in Slovenia. This movement is not yet registered, so that it is interesting whether the Slovene government will permit the existence and activities of this type of movement which advocates goals that are not at all democratic, but rather racist.

Although this movement does not yet exist formally and legally, some people are acting as if they are members of it, if not in fact its founders. These people include a minister and a bar owner. The minister is Dr. Andrej Capuder, the minister of culture, at whose recommendation the government refused to grant Slovene citizenship to Enes Cengic, a Krlezologist and literary successor to Miroslav Krleza, who requested Slovene citizenship simply because he wants to continue his literary and theoretical work somewhere along the Slovene coast, in the vicinity of Portoroz. Because he is not a citizen of Slovenia, he cannot buy an apartment or house. Minister Capuder explained the refusal of citizenship by stating briefly that Cengic is a known creator of culture, but that he has no merit for Slovene culture, so that there is no reason to grant him Slovene citizenship.

Similar to Minister Capuder's behavior is that of the owner of the "Palma" coffee house and disco club. To be sure, he has nothing against non-Slovenes, but he does have something against blacks. Ljubljana has a large colony of students and economic representatives from African countries who normally have a somewhat darker skin color. The owner of the "Palma" has barred their entry into his bar. He has justified this to journalists by saying that some of them broke several of his glasses a few months ago. When a group of 10 dark-skinned guests recently wanted to enter, he did not allow them to do so; when they offered to pay for the broken glasses, he—supported by his bouncer—again did not allow them to enter. He explained that he is not a racist, but only a chauvinist, that the bar is his and that he decides who to let in and who not to let in.

In any normal democratic European state, this bar would be shut down and the owner would be taken to court and sentenced, just as in any normal, European democratic state (and on paper Slovenia is just that), a minister like Capuder would leave the government. If bars like the "Palma" and ministers like Capuder are normal, then there is something abnormal in this European, normal, democratic country of Slovenia.

Human Rights Abuses in Republic Aired

92BA0266C Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 12 Dec 91 p 5

[Article by Zoran Odic—first paragraph is OSLOBODJENJE introduction]

[Text] The "new democracy" in Slovenia has brought with it, at least for now, the following fact: The basic rule that "everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in the UN Universal Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, sex, color, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin..." is not being respected.

When a group of (Slovene) pensioners from B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] sent a letter of protest to our newspaper because they had not received their pensions from Slovenia for two months (which according to the explanation that we received they will get around 12 December), they did not know to or want to cite the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted by the UN General Assembly on 10 December 1948, and which states that "everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others." These pensioners acquired their property together with other workers with whom they worked; the only misfortune is that some worked in B-H and others in Slovenia.

"All are equal before the law.... All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination...and against any incitement to such discrimination..." the Declaration also states, meaning that these 7,000 to 9,000 pensioners are, quite simply, being discriminated against by the Slovene state. This allegation may sound "rigid" given everything that is happening around us, but the Slovene state was obligated to see to it that not a single person receiving money inside or outside Slovenia suffered harm from the introduction of the new currency, regardless of what that money is called.

If all pensioners in Slovenia receive their pensions regularly, then all pensioners of the Slovene state must receive their pensions regardless of where they live, or otherwise this is a case of discrimination. It is not only pensioners in B-H who are angry; pensioners in Slovenia are also angry, alleging and proving that the Slovene state owes them 4.2 billion tolars. They say, "For years we cursed the Federation because it did not fulfill its PIO [expansion not given] obligations. Now that pensions have been transferred to the Slovene state itself, we are back in the same situation," the pensioners contend while demanding their money, which they will never get because the Slovene state, without asking anyone, has used it for weapons.

Slovenes Ueber Alles

Even more embittered are pensioners who received their pensions from the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]. Numerous major and minor political leaders are publicly demanding that they be classified as "pensioners of the occupying army," even though the majority of them earned their pensions when the JNA was actually the JNA and have been receiving their pensions for 10 to 15 years. Numerous national heroes are protesting this classification, declaring it to be true discrimination for the sole purpose of relieving the frustration of political officeholders.

No matter how much some may contend, people have never been equal, especially with regard to the state and the state apparatus. The example of pensioners is only one proof of this. The state seizes the people's savings. Under a law passed by the Assembly, the Slovene state has deprived people of their foreign-exchange savings and converted it into 10-year public debts, and it did not even ask them about it. This is inadmissible in a state that declares itself to be democratic, based on the rule of law...; it is inadmissible that the state does not allow a person (regardless of where he is from and who he is) to have a week-end home in Slovenia or the apartment given to him by his enterprise if he is not a citizen.

"No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property," the UN resolution states. When a person in Ljubljana looks at the lines in which people stand all day in order to get a certificate stating that that person is a citizen of Slovenia, simply because only a citizen of Slovenia can buy the apartment in which he lives, which he received from the enterprise or institution where he works or where he earned his pension, then it is clear to him that there is little left of the rule-of-law state and civil society in Slovenia. The state, or rather the budget, is being paid for the same apartment for the third time: The enterprise where the person worked bought it the first time and assigned it to him; the tenant himself paid for it in whole (or in part), because money for the housing fund was deducted from his income for years; and now the state is collecting from him on this apartment for the third time.

There is not a sociologist in the world who does not agree with the theoretical position that the "virtue" of every totalitarian state is its distrust of its citizens and its control over them through an intricate apparatus of various intelligence services whose activities are focused on "internal enemies," meaning these same citizens. In Slovenia three such services have already been established: within the police, within the TO [Territorial Defense Force], and within the Ministry of Internal Affairs. People who are better informed allege that there are a total of seven such services, but it is not known what they all are. Public protests were prompted by the document outlining the authorities of the employees of one of these services which belongs to the Ministry of Defense. It stated that an employee has the right to ask people for their identity cards, enter homes, seize cars; that he has the right to do whatever he wants.

Responding to these protests, Jansa said that these authorities apply only to the employees of his Ministry, but the instructions say something different. These authorities relate to these employees in this service, but also to "others." And the "others" must not work for this service. In this way, Slovenia is acting as if the citizens (together with their movable property and real estate) are its servants or its property, instead of it, like all democratic states, being the servant of its citizens.

Especially hard hit are people who are not Slovenes, something that is not only apparent in Slovenia. Thus, a

public scandal erupted when the chairman of the Personnel Committee of the Ljubljana Municipal Assembly demanded that three artists be dismissed or not reelected because they are not Slovenes, with the primitive argument, "Don't we Slovenes in fact have suitable personnel?!" The head of the personnel affairs service of the Municipal Assembly is a member of the same party as Minister of Justice Rajko Pirnat, who protests "wildcat" privatization. What kind of minister of justice is it who talks publicly about violations of the law but does nothing to prevent it? Especially since all the enterprises that he cited contend that "the minister is lying" through these very words. Does this not mean that the minister is violating the Declaration which states that "all are equal before the law," that "no one shall be held to be guilty" because "he is presumed innocent until found guilty according to law"....

Strictly Controlled Information

"Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence...." The new Slovene state for the first time erected borders that divided people who have never known anything about borders—divisions were set up between Istrians, Prekomurians, Belokranjskians, fishermen, farmers, doctors and patients, teachers and students, waiters and customers....

The extensive Article 19 of the Declaration talks about the right to freedom of opinion and expression, to receive and impart information, and the prohibition on sanctions against those whose opinion differs from the prevailing opinion.

In Slovenia there are known cases of journalists, especially at Slovene Television, whose only crime is doing their job with exceptional professionalism, not caving in to the prevailing opinion. Cases that are well known by the public are those of Majde Vukelic, a journalist for DELO, and Alenke Leskovic, the head of the information service of the Slovene Assembly. Less known are the cases of Tanje Staric and Zvezdana Martica of Slovene Television, who simply did not please the TV chiefs, but they have not (yet) lost their jobs even though they have done them exceptionally well. The best discussion of journalists with "leanings" towards "leftist" affairs simply because they have not joined one of the DEMOS parties or begun working in accordance with the DEMOS model for news reporting, came from journalist Danilo Slivnik, commenting on the conduct of new Minister of Information Jelko Kacin: "Kacin would like to be the editor in chief for all of Slovenia."

Simply put, the basic rule that "everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, sex, color, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth, or other status" is not respected is Slovenia, at least as long as this neodemocracy lasts.

Speculation on Attempted Assassination of Setinc

92BA0264C Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 15 Dec 91 p 13

[Article by Stane Pucko: "Slovenia: Unpleasant Matters on the Eve of the Expected Recognition; Setinc in a Tabloid"—first paragraph is VJESNIK introduction]

[Text] The Slovene media are speculating considerably about whether the "Molotov cocktail" against the door of the Setinc family's apartment is an attempted political assassination of those who think differently.

The second man in the Liberal-Democratic Party of Slovenia and a representative, Mile Setinc, a newspaper reporter who went into politics, has become a "media star" overnight, owing to—an attempted assassination. What happened is that a "Molotov cocktail" was thrown on Friday night at the door of the Setinc family's apartment in one of Ljubljana's skyscrapers. With the quick intervention of the Setinces, the neighbors and the firefighters, the blaze was extinguished, fortunately.

The Slovene media are now speculating considerably about whether this was an attempted political assassination of those who think differently. To be sure, Setinc can be ranked among those politicians with a radically sharp vocabulary, but is not involved in some political affair or a politically charged conflict. Thus it would be quite difficult to find a valid motive, let alone point at some political rival as the possible attacker.

It could be worse: The government newspaper SLOVENEC classified a short announcement about the attack as a tabloid. The traditional daily newspapers DELO DNEVNIK and VECER, however, are dealing with this incident in more detail. For example, VECER asks whether political terrorism will also encompass Slovenia, while DNEVNIK writes that, evidently, it is not sufficient to offend those who think differently, but they must be frightened as well. DELO even concludes that, several days before international recognition, everything is upside down in Slovene politics, and the "Molotov" at Setinc is evidence that things could get still worse.

The tabloid SLOVENSKE NOVINE is alone in attempting to introduce some humor into this unpleasantness, and speculates who would want to harm Setinc: either DEMOS [coalition of six parties: SDZ (Slovene Democratic Alliance), SDZS (Social Democratic Party of Slovenia), SKD (Slovene Christian Democratic Party), SKZ (Slovene Peasant Union), ZS (Green Party of Slovenia), LS (Liberal Party)], whose disintegration Setinc predicted several months ago, or the minister of tourism, Ingo Pas, whom Setinc asked where the marks for promotion of Slovene tourism had disappeared, or the minister of justice, Dr. Rajko Pirnat, whom Setinc reproached for smuggling in a lamp from abroad, or premier Lojze Peterle, who Setinc said is attacking the

parliament with a real inquisitor's zeal, or the government, because Setinc is seeking its abdication, or even Setinc himself, in order to promote himself and his party.

Threat to the Constitution: In awaiting international recognition, Slovenia is indeed characterized by unpleasant affairs. Just when the Pleskovic affair concerning statements about the disintegration of the Ljubljana Bank, which reverberated throughout the international banking network, quieted down, after the culmination of clashes between Peterle and the minister of foreign affairs, Dimitrij Rupel, there were street demonstrations because of the question of abortion, which Europe resolved some time ago, with rare exceptions. The new state, therefore, is threatened by a blockade of the passage of the new Constitution, and the government threatens to fall. After all this, a well-known representative is attacked; this is immediately used by the public as proof of the doubtful level of Slovene democracy.

Setinc was attacked only two days after the president of the Council for Human Rights and Freedoms, Dr. Ljubo Bavcon, called in the parliament for citizens to be tolerant. And only two days after the gathering in front of the parliament for the benefit of the right to abortion, these demonstrations have already been perceived by the public as a revival of real socialism and a clash with the right.

Croatia

EC Observers Held Hostage 90 Minutes by Serbs

LD0701200392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] Two EC observer missions arrived in Sisak today. One immediately went on to Petrinja for talks with representatives of the garrison of the occupying army there, while the other stayed in Sisak with the aim of checking up on the cease-fire and, in the process, toured some of the front line. There was a long wait for the return of the Petrinja group to Sisak, and it took place only in the evening. The reason is because of the fact that the Euro- observers were taken hostage for more than 90 minutes by 12 Serbian terrorists who wanted to hold them as hostages, allegedly pending the return of one of their father's from Sisak. In the process, there was shooting around the observers who obviously experienced difficult moments, something that they otherwise talked about upon their return to Sisak this evening.

Cease-Fire Violations in Baranja Reported

AU0701160792 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] Croatian formations fired several mortar shells on the positions of the Yugoslav People's Army and the Territorial Defense in Baranja about 2200 [2100 GMT] last night. The Army and the Territorial Defense did not return fire. The commander of the Baranja Territorial Defense, Dobrokes, stated that the projectiles came from the direction of the villages of Petrijevci and Jelengrad, which are about 20 km from Osijek, upstream of the Drava river. These villages are controlled by the Croatian forces. Dobrokes claims that the Croatian paramilitary formations are violating the truce every day, and that members of the Territorial Defense are not allowed to return fire.

The Information Service of the Baranja Operative Group stated that the Croatian forces have violated the latest truce nine times. The last time this happened was at 2215 last night, when they hit Staro Selo with three bombs. There was no response to these attacks and provocations. The Croatian side is not respecting the provisions of the agreement on use of the telephone hot line, with which the commands of the warring sides in Beli Manastir and Osijek are to keep in constant touch and jointly discuss every incident.

'Ustashas' Violate Truce Near Vinkovci

AU0701154092 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Mirko Stankovic report]

[Text] Last night, at 2300 GMT exactly, the Croatian paramilitary opened mortar fire from the village of Nustar on the positions of the Yugoslav People's Army and the Territorial Defense near the village of Ceric, 8 km from Vinkovci. The Army did not respond. The attack lasted 45 minutes. There were no casualties.

Asked by the Army representatives over the telephone as to why they had done it if they agreed to observe the cease-fire, the Croatian side answered: Somebody must be drunk again. It can be concluded from this that either some areas or units of Ustasha forces are under no one's control, or that this is the continuation of the already usual violation of signed agreements. It is interesting to note that during yesterday's talks between the representatives of the two warring sides, Ustashas admitted that they have been carrying out provocations recently, but refused to say this in front of the EC mission members, who today went to the scene of the attack to establish the details.

Banja Luka Commander 'Believes' in Cease-Fire

LD0701153192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1313 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] Banja Luka, January 7 (TANJUG)—The commander of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) Banja Luka Corps, Lieutenant-General Vladimir Vukovic, told journalists today that he believes "in the 15th ceasefire". He added that the JNA would "observe it to the degree to which the enemy observes it."

General Vukovic said that the Croatian side was interested in making the ceasefire hold, which could mean

two things - that it either realized it can do nothing on the military plan or wants to buy time to bring new arms which have been arriving to Croatia, adding that he personally believed in the latter.

General Vukovic, who took over command as of the new year, said that spectacular changes on the front should not be expected and added that the situation on the western Slavonian front was stable. The task of the Banja Luka Corps was not to fiercely respond to attacks but to independently carry out combat actions and operations, General Vukovic said. He noted that the corps had not been weakened by the fact that some parts in western Slavonia had to be abandoned.

The objectives and tasks of the Banja Luka Corps are to liberate all regions where Serbs make up the majority population or a considerable minority and prevent a genocide against the Serbian people, General Vukovic said. The corps is also to keep the Croatian Army forces in the region of western Slavonia, General Vukovic said. He pointed out that the soliders were tired since they have been on the front too long, adding that their complaints and remarks that the burden of war was not being equally distributed were justified because the order on spending a maximum of four months on the front does not apply to them since they are in a crisis region.

General Vukovic said that everything would be done in the forthcoming period to prevent the movement of reservists with long barrelled weapons south of the Sava River (into Bosnia-Hercegovina) and that everyone under arms, except for the JNA or territorial defence units, would be disarmed.

'Serbian Krajina' Accepts UN Forces Deployment

AU0801084092 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0300 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] The Republic of the Serbian Krajina accepts the deployment of the forces of the United Nations for establishing peace in Yugoslavia, but in a way that does not threaten the interests of the Serbian people of the Krajina. This is the first reaction from the Krajina's official organs to the publication of the contents of the concept on deploying the blue helmets in Yugoslavia.

This reiterates the earlier stand that proceeds from the idea that the peace forces of the United Nations be deployed on the delineation line between the warring sides in Croatia.

Stresses Equality of All Citizens

LD0701182192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1711 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] Knin, 7 January (TANJUG)—In the Republic of Serbian Krajina, all citizens, "regardless of their national and religious affiliation, are equal before the law," it is stressed in today's statement of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MUP) of "Krajina." It is reported that the statement is linked to the increasingly frequent rumors that "citizens of Croatian nationality are being treated as second-class, ill-treated, arrested, and even killed."

The statement stresses that official Croatian propaganda is doing all it can on a daily basis to engender—by means of ideological terror and agitation among its own people—the feeling of the Croatian nation's general imperilment in the Krajina area. In this way, the statement goes on, "the Croatian people are being used as objects, have been turned into an apathetic mass, full of fear and anxiety, and rendered incapable of distinguishing between truth and lies."

Babic Bans Communist Parties

LD0701173992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1708 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] Knin, 7 Jan (TANJUG)—On the basis of Article 78 of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, its president, Dr. Milan Babic, today adopted and immediately proclaimed a law banning the work and political activity of communist-oriented parties.

The law, which otherwise has only two articles, and comes into force today, reads:

"The work, political activity, registration and organization of all Communist parties and organizations in the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina is banned."

Article 2 merely says that the law comes into force immediately.

JNA Not Yet Planning East Slavonia Withdrawal

AU0701165792 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] Judging by everything, the units of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] will not withdraw from eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, at least until both sides on the line of contact are disarmed. Djordje Vukmirovic reports:

[Begin Vukmirovic recording] Conveying the stand of the people we represent, we will leave it to the consciousness and conscience of the most responsible people in the JNA to decide whether they will order the Army to withdraw to the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] borders of Serbia. It is also up to the conscience of Serbs in the JNA whether to obey this order, bearing in mind all possible consequences for our people and the state. This is one of the most important conclusions of the government of the Serbian region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, made in response to the reports that the JNA will withdraw from the territory of the Serbian region in accordance with the UN peace plan.

Judging by what we learned in the Novi Sad Corps' press center in Dalj today, there is no question of the Army withdrawing from here. As we were told, the Army will not withdraw until both sides on the line of contact are

disarmed. According to the principles applied in similar cases so far, this means that the warring sides should withdraw some 15 km from the line of contact. This more or less corresponds to the range of artillery pieces.

Only when this is done, and when the blue helmets are deployed in this demilitarized zone, could the units of the JNA withdraw. This view has brought a great relief to the citizens of the Serbian region, who do not want to be left to the mercy of the Croatian fighters. [end recording]

Hadzic 'Disappointed' With UN Plan

AU0701173492 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 2128 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] The government of the Serbian region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, this evening held a session and examined the provisions of the agreement on the deployment of the UN peacekeeping forces. The government decided to reject the deployment of the blue helmets on the territory of the Serbian region. The Serbian people do not need any better protection than that offered by the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA], the government's statement points out.

Let us hear what Goran Hadzic, president of the Serbian region of Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem, told our correspondent [Milorad Cvetkovic], commenting on the current cease-fire and the deployment of the blue helmets.

[Begin Hadzic recording] I am not an optimist as regards the cease-fire. I would like the cease-fire to be observed. Our units, the units of the Territorial Defense and the JNA units—which our units are a part of—have been observing the cease-fire. We have not even responded to fire. The Ustasha formations, that is to say, the Ustasha paramilitary formations, violated the cease-fire on a couple of occasions. According to these stands and proposals that we were offered, even by our Presidency, these formations are unfortunately being transformed into regular formations, while our Territorial Defense units are considered paramilitary formations. I am very disappointed with such conclusions. Talking about the cease-fire, it was violated in Mirkovci, around Osijek, and several other locations, although our forces did not respond to the provocations.

[Cvetkovic] You, of course, welcome the arrival of blue helmets. What is your stance regarding their deployment, positions?

[Hadzic] When I heard that the blue helmets were to be deployed, I made a statement supporting this. I was an optimist, and I welcomed the arrival of the blue helmets. However, I thought that in view of what was stated by the SFRY Presidency—which represents us—that the blue helmets would be deployed in a manner agreed upon and proposed together with the Presidency. That is, our joint stand was that they be deployed on the cease-fire line. However, I was a bit disappointed when I heard about and saw how they are to be deployed. It amounts to the occupation of Serbian regions, and it prejudices the political solution. The troops are coming exclusively to the territory of the Serbian region in order to demilitarize this zone, while Croatia will be able to stock up on arms. The Croatian paramilitary formations—the corps of the Croatian National Guard to be precise—are equated with our JNA, while our forces are branded paramilitary formations. I am disappointed about this, but I nevertheless wish and hope that the blue helmets will finally bring peace to this region and security to the people living here.

Publication Banned for Disclosing Defense Details

LD0701191192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] On the basis of the provisions of Article 13, paragraph two of the decree on information activities during a state of war or in the event of a direct threat to the independence and unity of the Republic of Croatia, the Ministry of Information of the Republic of Croatia today adopted a decision banning the distribution of SLOBODNI TJEDNIK Number 94 of 8 January 1992 because of an article under the heading "Notes From Jastreb's Talks in Vinkovci," in which details are given about the armed forces and defense that are, the decision states, a military secret and information damaging to the country's defense.

By the Ministry of Information's decision, the decision will be sent to the Ministry of Internal Affairs with an order for all copies to be confiscated, and the publisher is obliged to stop distribution. By the decision of the Ministry of Information there can be no appeal against this decision, according to the decision signed by Minister Branko Salaj.

Internal Affairs Minister on 'Hot Issues'

92BA0287B Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 10 Dec 91 pp 17-19

[Interview with Croatian Minister of Internal Affairs Ivan Vekic, by Jelena Lovric; place and date not given: "This Is Not a Police State"—first paragraph is DANAS introduction]

[Text] Since becoming the head of the Croatian MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs], Ivan Vekic has brought a new spirit to the activities of that institution. In an interview with DANAS, Vekic talks about hot issues of Croatian politics and the Croatian police—fears of repression, the Paraga and Dedakovic affairs, arms procurement, the intolerable conduct of HOS [Croatian Defense Force] members and guardists, the persecution of Serbs, and the horrors of war.

When at the end of the interview, half-jokingly, I ask Ivan Vekic whether he could be a Croatian Rankovic, he readily responds that he has thought about that and would know how to do it. The key lies in a phrase that he quoted almost in passing, in the twinkling of an eye:

Eternity will simply shrug its shoulders at all this. What could be the consequences of the fact that the police minister remembers the key sentence from one of the most stirring books about the hardships experienced in the worst type of police state? It is a little unusual for the top policeman to recite Poe or Rimbaud. But could it be dangerous for someone in this post to think that in the end all will be settled, forgiven, of no consequence? Like this: "because all of this, my dear, will be covered by snow, rosemary, and bulrushes."

[Vekic] That fatalistic phrase permeates the prison days of the legendary revolutionary Buharin in Koestler's symbolic book *Darkness at Noon*, which deals not so much with the factualism of persecution as with the spiritual states of those who were its object. After a good part of my own life, I have the right to maintain that this sentence coincides completely with my view of life. If someone conjures up memories from the time when a world war raged in this country all the way up to the present day, then this entire panopticon of horrible events leaves him with no choice but to realize, like Koestler, that eternity will simply shrug its shoulders at all of it. Perhaps being a fatalist in Croatia at this time means being realistic. Because living in Croatia today means being in a place that the world in fact cannot understand. Anyway, this is too small a nation for the amount of history with which it has been saddled. It is simply unable to absorb it. Knowing that eternity will simply shrug its shoulders at the sea of blood that has been flowing ever since this nation has been in the region relativizes everything that is happening.

[Lovric] Could this relativization of everything make it easier for you to move in the direction of creating a police state, a community of repression about which there has been quite a bit of fear among the political public in Croatia in recent times?

[Vekic] I do not remember those times, but I can say that it used to be the practice to hoist a flag over a prison whenever there were no more prisoners. I hope that democracy in Croatia will one day result in white flags over its prisons. Until that is achieved, there is no doubt that police strength, armed force, and repression are unavoidable as a way to consolidate democratic power. We often forget that Croatia is at war, and that it is a total fight to the finish. And whenever there is war, you cannot lose sight of the fact that the evils of war are present not only at the front, not only wherever the enemy is sighted. War inevitably engenders disturbances in a country's internal order as well.

[Lovric] The police are currently a focal point of public interest due to their reports in connection with the Croatian Rights Party, as well the arrests of Paraga and Dedakovic and certain other repressive actions.

[Vekic] The police will not join anyone's political plan until an attempt is made to implement such a plan in a way that includes violence. Right now, every such person, all such people, every such political party inevitably enters into the zone of responsibility. If the activities of citizen Dobroslav Paraga were restricted to arrogant politicking, to certain proclamations about the goals that he would like to realize, then this would not be of interest to the police. In order not to leave any room for rumors, which are started primarily amidst a lack of true information, we periodically report certain relevant facts to the public. This is just what we did in the case of Paraga's arrest, when we announced that he had exceeded the bounds of boastful politicking. I would point out that this gentleman publicly bandies about data that are completely false. We in the police have determined that on the 17th of last month, the Croatian Rights Party had 1,194 members. There are probably even fewer fighters. But even before that, there were announcements coming from that party about how they have 20,000 or even 30,000 armed people. In the report by the state commission for Vukovar, you will find information establishing that that gentleman gave an interview to Belgrade's DUGA in September. I will not attempt to explain how it is that the leader of a party was the guest of a newspaper that is not only geographically, but also in terms of its political indicators, located in an enemy country, because there is absolutely no doubt that it excuses the aggression against Croatia. There is something else that is interesting: Why does DUGA show interest in Mr. Dobroslav Paraga, who says in that interview—and I am paraphrasing here—that now that he has an armed force, he will purge the Presidential Palace, that his blow, he says, will destroy everything. And now people wonder why Mr. Paraga was apprehended. If he had restricted himself to that arrogant statement and not actually attempted to overthrow President Tudjman, then it would have been of no consequence. It would have been his business, because, after all, every party wants to overthrow the government in power. But when this is stated clearly and when the armed force is assembling in this direction, then we must take action. Since certain heads of opposition parties are now frequently screaming hypocritically about the fate of Mr. Paraga, I must say that I do not know of a single opposition party that would have reacted differently if in power. I even contend that the majority of them would have reacted much more crudely. To conclude, this is clearly not a case of police tyranny and political trials. But the government's reaction will be the same to everything that is sanctioned by the penal code. While performing his begging act concerning human rights, Mr. Paraga was in the United States, so that he must know whether the Democratic Party there would be able to create its own armed formations, especially if the United States were at war. So why is there such a dilemma surrounding a matter that for me, as far as the police are concerned, is utterly clear? I will not make the mistake—even though it is purely formal in nature—of contending that Paraga is guilty, in such a way that this could be interpreted as a premature verdict or as pressure on the court. Just ask me and I will respond. The same was true of President Tudjman as well. If they had not asked him, he probably would not have mentioned it. Was the

president supposed to say that Paraga is innocent? Or that he knows nothing about the case? Or that he is unaware of this action?

[Lovric] Thus, if we reject the part about boastful statements, then we are left with the formation of some sort of armed detachments?

[Vekic] For the purpose of overthrowing the democratically elected government. But if that happens during a war, then—nota bene—the goal is not only to topple the democratically elected government, but also to destroy Croatia. When a country is at war, which requires the absolute solidarity of all the citizens and an equal distribution of the burden of war across everyone's shoulders, then every attack on the government is an attack on the most fundamental interests of the nation. All we needed were armed clashes between some sort of party formations and the regular Croatian army troops in order for our enemy to achieve, with our help, what it intends.

[Lovric] What do you regard as an attack on the government?

[Vekic] The formation of armed detachments whose goal is to topple the democratically elected government.

[Lovric] Is it not depressing to hear, like just the other day in the Assembly, that criticism of the government practically represents an attempt to topple it, and this from people who in the previous system combatted verbal offenses with all their might?

[Vekic] We are not talking about verbal offenses here. They have not limited themselves to criticism alone. And I ask you, has anyone criticized the democratically elected government like the Croatian People's Party [HNS] has, taking advantage of every opportunity to attack every sequence of the government? And this is of no consequence. Nor would we even consider some way of punishing or prosecuting such behavior by the HNS leaders. Because they have not entered into the criminal zone. This is still within the broad framework of political struggle. I must mention one more trick. The precepts of Ante Starcevic have not become the property of Mr. Paraga according to some right of inheritance. They are the inheritance of all of us. It seems to me that because of his actions he has inherited these precepts least of all. As if he is unfamiliar with the basic outline of humanity in Starcevic's work and in his personal life.

[Lovric] But has the HOS not become stronger in part because of the lack of organization in the legal Croatian armed formations?

[Vekic] We have heard that several hundred so-called HOS members went to Starcevic's home because they were placed on a waiting list when they reported to the Guard. There, they had to join the party as well, even though that may not have been their intention. Thus, thanks to this sluggishness, which in turn can be explained, because we were not able to quickly structure the Croatian army—you know what sort of times we were living in—we were unable to accept a number of people who wanted to take part in the defense of Croatia.

[Lovric] Why were these anomalies not eliminated while they were still emerging?

[Vekic] That cannot be done all at once. The police must first look at the situation and decide how dangerous some occurrence is. When it became clear to us that there was no other way, we apprehended the party leaders. We ordered explicitly that all police actions with regard to individuals in the so-called HOS take place without bloodshed. I must emphasize that it is to our credit that there have been no armed clashes thus far. I will tell you—even though this is sort of a police secret—that people from the MUP have engaged in a number of talks with them, in an attempt to call their attention to halting these intrigues, and we have always gotten the same promises: We will disband our forces, we will turn them over to the [National Guard] Corps, we will not have any sort of staff of our own, any sort of military hierarchy. They have probably felt that it is a very cunning move to agree to all the conditions and continue with their behavior, thinking that in this way they will trick us. Since the police can be all sorts of things, but never gullible, we concluded from following their further activities that they have no intention of renouncing that which they have mapped out, which is to topple the government. Just one detail. When Mr. Paraga was arrested, his people said that they would free him within one hour. In what country is an imprisoned person forcibly removed from prison? Where are attacks on prisons, courts, institutions, and the Presidential Palace announced? I must say once again that no one should even consider attempting such a thing with violence, because we will be forced to resolve this problem in the only possible way, and that is by crushing the armed forces.

[Lovric] Your report says that the HOS people are waging war in taverns, while reports are arriving from the field saying that they are good, and even disciplined fighters?

[Vekic] Yes, those who are good fighters, and those who are in the taverns are waging war behind the bar.

[Lovric] Everyone in Zagreb is waging war in taverns?

[Vekic] Let us understand each other here: A number of negative characteristics that are mentioned to describe the HOS relate to others as well. Even members of MUP reserve units have participated in a number of cases of punishable behavior. It is a fact that with regard to members of the National Guard Corps and of reserve units—there have been very few criminal acts of this kind among the active units—we have been able to act legally, because they are grouped together in some sort of organization where there is subordination and a hierarchy.

[Lovric] In Zagreb there is an increase in the number of incidents, and most often they involve soldiers from bars. How is it that you cannot restrain them?

[Vekic] I would not say that the number of cases is increasing. I must say that the number is decreasing, but the number of them that are uncovered is increasing. Now that the Croatian army has been formed and organized, the police are beginning to return to their jobs. The police reserve units, aside from a certain number of cadre whose number is not of importance to the public, are pledged to the Croatian army, together with their weapons and equipment. The active component of the police is withdrawing from the battlefield in order to work on internal order and peace. Until recently, the entire Croatian police force was involved in the war. Now we have the opportunity to uncover more incidents. We were below the limit of 50 percent of all acts being uncovered, which is unacceptably low. Now we are gradually climbing above 50 percent, which is equal to the worldwide average in a war situation. We are not seeing an increase in police repression, nor has this become a police state; we are simply tracking down more criminals.

[Lovric] Is it true that Paraga was arrested more or less in agreement with international powers? And was this after Mr. Tudjman was allegedly shown a film in The Hague about the massacre that was, again allegedly, committed by HOS people?

[Vekic] I know nothing about a film being shown to the president in The Hague. Similarly, I have only heard that there was something like that. As someone who works in this post, I would be the first to question the authenticity of a film. From my position, it would also be premature to allege that members of the HOS committed a massacre anywhere. It is enough to remind the whole world of the well-known Gleiwitz affair, when Hitler, looking for a pretext for attacking Poland, put his own people in Polish uniforms. Until we have verified documents, until it is determined whether montage was used, until the participants are identified, I have no intention of alleging that HOS members committed any massacre. We have not published information about the horrible massacre in Dalj because we are still unable to verify the information. You cannot publicly come out with unverified documents. In negotiations with the Army, the federal SUP [Secretariat for Internal Affairs] and the MUP of Serbia, we have asked that exhumations be allowed in order to verify the casualties in Vukovar.

[Lovric] Is the arrest of Paraga connected to the imprisonment of Dedakovic?

[Vekic] All that I can tell you is that there is common ground in that each of them had his own role to play. But unlike Dedakovic, Paraga is under the jurisdiction of the civilian court. Once these two proceedings are completed before their respective courts, we will be able to see whether this symbiosis did in fact exist, and what the nature of it was. It would also be premature to talk about information to which the state has access. Rest assured that we had adequate cause for what is known as basic suspicion, and that is enough to initiate proceedings. I will not say solid evidence, regardless of how solid it may have seemed to me.

[Lovric] How do you explain the fact that Dedakovic was first talked about as a deserter from the battlefield, then as a KOS [Counterintelligence Service] agent, only to end up now as a scoundrel?

[Vekic] I will not comment on anyone's clumsiness in these proceedings.

[Lovric] In what way was the flow of money for procuring arms followed? How was it possible to lose the trail in certain cases? Who was watching over this?

[Vekic] One must begin from the fact that Croatia found itself at war without weapons. And there was not a single legal way to procure any, especially in the short term. The right to defend oneself is one of the fundamental human rights. If there are no legal instruments for the state and its forces to defend individuals or groups, then they will defend themselves. We dealt with the situation in various ways. Although I do not know much about this—because there is no department in the MUP that deals with the illegal procurement of arms—there is no indication that these funds were misused. It is a fact that there was a great deal of money involved, but it is also true that many weapons were procured. But because of the embargo, it was not always possible to get an adequate amount of weapons for this amount of money, for the simple reason that they had to be smuggled. Whenever it is no longer possible to procure weapons legally, and when you must rely on a few boats sailing the seas and looking for buyers, then quite naturally you are exposed to risk. I cannot say whether there were certain false assessments and mistakes made while dealing with this problem, because I simply do not know. But this must be understood as a consequence of the situation in which we found ourselves. If you secretly bring in weapons from somewhere, then you must transport them across a certain area, and that does not always work. This is why we cannot talk about someone being to blame for not getting exactly the presumed amount of weapons for a certain amount of money; everything costs something, including a per diem for fear, foreign services, everything.

[Lovric] If that is the case, then why are proceedings being initiated against Dedakovic, shattering the myth that emerged in conjunction with Vukovar? In some cases, which have even been mentioned in the Assembly, such as Mr. Cermak, for example, the dust had settled even before it was raised?

[Vekic] He was addressed by an Assembly delegate. If one has at one's disposal facts that indicate anyone's possible guilt, then there is no reason whatsoever not to try that case. No one is protected a priori. I do not wish to elaborate on the Dedakovic case for the simple reason

that it is not under the authority of the MUP, so that I have nothing to say because I am neither qualified nor competent to do so.

[Lovric] But you could say something as a person in the leadership ranks of the Croatian government. And who in the end was a member of the Manolic Commission. Could you comment from that position on the allegation that Dedakovic is being used to attack certain other, higher-ranking people in the [Military] Staff?

[Vekic] The Staff is not under the jurisdiction of the MUP either. There are security bodies within the Croatian army that deal with that. The only thing that I can say is that right now I do not accept any sort of political qualification of the Dedakovic case.

[Lovric] What would be your comment on the notion that the Dedakovic case could become a Croatian Dreyfus?

[Vekic] Innocence such as that has never provided any guarantee that someone will not have to bear responsibility for something. But the fundamental elements necessary for that comparison are lacking, because as I recall, there are a few components that rule out any parallel: That affair involved anti-Semitism, palace games, intrigues, it involved his private life, and in that case he was ultimately tried for something for which people are not put on trial today, namely, freedom of thought. Anyway, here everything is based on solid and unbending facts. As far as I am concerned, Dedakovic could have this or that idea, but the issue here is the execution of ideas. That is why he is being tried. How serious this evidence is—that is something that I will not go into.

[Lovric] What is your view of the fact, perhaps as a former lawyer, that a man who spent three months at the front, in Vukovar, is now being beaten up in prison?

[Vekic] I am familiar with that as a member of the government, because that information was put forward by Mr. Budisa. I do not know whether that finding has been verified medically, and in particular I do not know the circumstances under which this happened. I do not disassociate myself from future actions by people in the MUP, but you will agree that there are situations when force is applied. I do not want to get into an assessment of whether this was such a situation. I must say to you that this happens in practice. And so what? I do not think that this very thing would attract particular public attention.

[Lovric] But you quite clearly have jurisdiction over cases where people disappear over night, not only individuals, but entire groups, like in Gospic, for example. Even in the Assembly it has been said that Serbs, even in Zagreb, even respectable citizens, are no longer sleeping at home?

[Vekic] The police have invested a great deal of effort in eliminating such possibilities. But without excusing anyone I must remind you once again that the country is at war. War does not unfold only at the front lines of combat operations, but also, unfortunately, in the rear as well. Serb extremism has emerged in Serb areas. It is very difficult to keep tabs on the behavior of individuals who achieve a state of destructive bitterness. The horrible charge of hatred blinds people, and does not allow them to censor a single one of their actions for a certain period of time. For these people, the Serbs in Croatia are one of the causes of what is happening, and one of the generators of any future conflicts as well. They think that this situation must be resolved in what seems to them, amidst this terrible bitterness, the only possible way. But to get back to the essence of the problem. I hope that many of these people of Serbian nationality who have disappeared are still alive. Because it is a fact that people who have done nothing wrong have found themselves in very difficult situations. I can tell you that a considerable number of people suspected of such acts have already been indicted, charged with crimes, and that further action is up to the courts, their efficiency, speed, and decisionmaking, which must be in accordance with the crime committed.

[Lovric] People from Gospic have come to our editorial offices seeking help. Monstrous stories are being spread about the mass disappearances there.

[Vekic] People have also been forcibly abducted there. I must say that there are no government orders whatsoever, from any of its sectors, no tacit approval of this action. Thus, the government has no connection to this whatsoever. But it is precisely in connection with Gospic that police action is being taken to clear up the matter and bring those responsible to justice. I have already said that in no case can we go with unverified information. The moment that we learn all the relevant information, you can be certain that we will inform the public. But if what is being said is really the truth, then the perpetrators of these misdeeds will be similarly taken to court. It is a fact that something has happened there, but it is also a fact that the police right now do not yet have enough information to inform the public. But I believe that by the time your readers see this interview they will already know the results of the police action that I have ordered in this regard.

[Lovric] What is the truth about Mr. Mercep? According to some information, Gospic is linked to his name. People who know him contend that he is a Croatian Arkan?

[Vekic] Mr. Mercep is an advisor to this ministry. That post falls under the direct authority of the minister, and he performs concrete tasks according to the minister's orders. He has been to several serious battlefields, and he was even wounded at Okucani. As far as the duty that he performs in the name of the ministry is concerned, he does a good job. Even if it is said in some parts that Mr. Mercep did something prior to and outside his function in the MUP, I can leave that up to justice and his

conscience. Since he has been here, we have no information indicating his participation in anything punishable. He is a person who carries with him a certain spiritual unrest, a disinclination towards models of life, and who leaves no one indifferent to him. Mercep is an interesting person, to put it mildly.

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The interview lasts a long time. But not about off-color police stories. They do not enter into the assigned framework of the plot. Still, Vekic will close the circle at the end. Shrugs his shoulders. Because, he repeats, eternity itself will do the same thing.

State Commission Communique Arouses Fear

92BA0289B Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 10 Dec 91 pp 20-21

[Article by Zeljko Ivankovic: "Master of His Trade"]

[Text] The fall of Vukovar, according to the report of the Croatian State Commission, occurred through the fault of the Communists who won the election in Vukovar, the KOS [Counterintelligence Service], Paraga, and certain members of the HOS [military arm of the Croatian Rights Party], Mile Dedakovic, the governor of the National Bank of Croatia, and Slovenia. That's right, Slovenia. This is approximately what the newsman of TV Slovenia said in reporting to his public from the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia. A bit tensely, but indicatively, he explained to the Slovenes why their republic was included: "Because Paraga is a citizen of Slovenia, because the HOS-ites allegedly had training camps on the territory of Slovenia, because Dedakovic is said to have made some statement to some newsman from Radio Slovenia."

Certainly there is some cynicism in the report by the Slovenian newsman, but there is also a suggestion, not disguised in the least, that no one is altogether safe in the face of the activity of the so-called Manolic Commission. The exceptional sensitivity of the public of Slovenia and Croatia to any indication of possible departures from democratic procedure by the government is not diminished in our republic even by the horrors of war. It is altogether in keeping with this that that public finds everyone suspicious, so that the first question which Josip Manolic, who heads Tudjman's Office for Protection of Constitutional Order, had to answer in front of the TV audience was how he came to perform the same UDBA [State Security Administration] job even now, just as in the old government.

Manolic answered that question, as he did all the others, as though he knew it in advance—slowly, in routine fashion, almost as though he were tired: That he (certainly) was never a secret policeman in the old government, but rather, along with other government posts, he was involved with penology, which he referred to as a strictly specialized field. He replaced, not to say concealed, the former bureaucratic name of his position "chief of the service for execution of penalties," with a scientific term. He was the administrator of Croatian prisons. In the democratic world, whenever any high government official is being chosen, his professional and personal past is verified in the greatest detail, but it would seem that applying that criterion in our country would be to see the forest, but not the trees. Accordingly, Manolic's former positions are not a basis on which one can effectively evaluate his present actions.

But the Slovenes are not the only ones suggesting that people are frightened by the activity of the Manolic Commission. Savka Dabcevic Kucar recently said the same thing. Does that commission's first report reinforce that anxiety? After reading and analyzing the some 50 cards of text, everyone has had occasion to choose his own answer, and it is almost certain that the response is mixed. The paranoia which has prevailed in society because of the activity of the former secret services is being treated in various ways in countries where the systems of Real Socialism have fallen. In some places, they have opened the files of those services, which was a kind of promise that it will never be created again. But this took a turn toward caricature, so that now in East Germany and Czechoslovakia there is a virtual media search for those who collaborated with the secret police.

Viewed from this angle, the commission, according to the first report, is not a restoration of socialist secret services, because there is actually no indication about it that it would bring charges against any so-called "ordinary citizen" for a mere verbal crime. To be sure, some of Paraga's statements are being referred to, but in a stretched interpretation they might be seen as a call to bring down the constitutional order by force. Although the report itself emphasizes that it is not the basis for criminal prosecution, there are still elements that give rise to fear. If anyone is apt to be afraid, then in wartime there are certainly many such.

There are those who say after reading the report that it is all like a detective novel. A bit unreal, but at the same time plausible in a literary way. Spy novels and detective novels characteristically manipulate the data in a clever way, holding the reader's attention until the final denouement. It is certainly cynical to push Manolic among the writers, especially because the writer counts on the reader believing everything he says, absolutely everything, and he can mess it up only if he commits some flagrant logical error. But Manolic, according to the logic of a democratic society, must be precise in his assurances to the skeptical citizen, because he speaks in the name of the government. Unless he has assumed he was speaking from a position of authority, that is, as one who must be believed.

Is it possible to interpret in this way some of the "literary" lapses in the report?

"However, on 11 October Dedakovic went from Vukovar to Vinkovci and then to Zagreb. The day before that Dobroslav Paraga issued a declaration: 'The HSP

[Croatian Rights Party] has set itself several targets, from restoration of Starcevic's home, proclamation of the NDH [Independent State of Croatia] during this year to the raising of a general uprising of the Croatian people and liberation of the NDH. We are attaining all the targets according to the plan and program. The government will pay dear for this. We are on our way.'

"In the meantime, according to the report of the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs], at 1730 hours on 13 October an attempt was made to break through units of the HV [Croatian Army] and reach Vukovar...."

Leave aside that there is no "meantime" between 11 October and the day before, and if there were it would not include 13 October. But this passage, and indeed almost the entire document, undisguisedly suggests a tie-up between Paraga and Dedakovic. But what kind of arguments are made? That Paraga gave an interview the day before Dedakovic came to Zagreb. That tie-up is described somewhat more convincingly in other passages until one reads at the end of the document: "At a late hour on 13 October, Mile Dedakovic sent a message to Paraga in which he expressed dissatisfaction that the Order referred to above was not carried out—and that if he did not get people by 1800 hours on 14 October, he would assume that Paraga and his people 'are still not ready for the homeland.'"

So, four days before the fall of Vukovar, Dedakovic expected aid from Paraga for defense of the city, not to bring down the government. Paraga visited Dedakovic in Vinkovci, but he was also visited by Antun Vujic, president of the Social Democrats, and so what? It would be wrong to assert that no indications whatsoever are given concerning the intentions of forcibly overthrowing the government. Thus, it is said that after the murder of Ante Paradzic eight members of the HOS were ordered to assassinate the president of the the republic, that one member of the HOS was supposed to infiltrate Tudjman's personal bodyguards, and so on. It is not said whether these people have been apprehended, and if they have, when, before or after Paraga? If we are to have a convincing detective story, we are also missing information about Dedakovic's man, who was supposed to make contact with some HOS-ite in the Rebro Hospital, the man who was supposed to murder some editor at Croatian Television. There is, of course, more of that, but it is no wonder that there is, because in the end this nevertheless is not a novel.

And that is exactly why it arouses fear, because it is reality. Real life, the murkier it is, the more frightening it is. And the report has not exposed it? As a matter of fact, it seems to have concealed it even more. It would be logical to think about the decree prohibiting the media from publishing strategic war information. Which makes it difficult to believe the great amount of data about orders of the General Staff which otherwise no newspapers would dare to publish. So as not to give away military secrets. Has that information now ceased to be relevant, or on the other hand is it being used to trick the aggressor army? For example: "On 16 November, General Spegelj was on the spot and judged the situation to be bad. We quote: '...I believe that the disagreements between Commander Dedakovic and Mr. Mercep go quite deep and that nothing can be expected from their cooperation for the possible future removal of the blockade of Vukovar.'" What are the relations in the Croatian Army between the commander and the gentleman (official of the MUP)? If Dedakovic did not obey his superior Gorinsek, should he not have been removed earlier?

The crowning proof that both the little and big Hawk were working to bring down the legitimate government are the notorious indictments that Vukovar was sold out, which circulated in the public immediately before the fall of Vukovar. We learn from Manolic's Report that similar indictments of the Croatian government had arrived much earlier, and that directly from the commander of Vukovar's defense. Did they become dangerous only when they reached the public? Irritated by the massacre of the heroic city, the public was inclined to believe even the most unlikely fabrications, for example, the one to the effect that Vukovar was sold for Western Hercegovina. Equally panicked, perhaps even the defenders of Vukovar believed that unlikely construction, never even asking themselves who would buy their utterly demolished city for Western Hercegovina, which had not been touched?

But we will go no further with our formal analysis of Manolic's first public report, although it is not insignificant by any means. On the TV program about the report, Josip Manolic was told that he is the second most influential person in Croatia. Of course, he denied that observation which is his duty if he wants to be correct in his public assessment of the importance of his present position. Nevertheless, it takes no great memory at all that even in terms of the offices he has held, he has always been the man that Tudjman trusted most. And when he himself declared that he is now running something that might be referred to as the Croatian CIA (the Slovenes refer to it as CROCIA), he only put more arguments in the hands of those who speak about his secret power. What is more, his first public task has been to expose nothing more nor less than a conspiracy. That fact alone chills the blood.

The theory of a conspiracy is not unknown in Western political thought. The liberal Karl Popper makes fun of it, adding that it is "an essential trait of the conspiracy theory of society that it actually gives rise to a plot." According to him, advocates of the conspiracy theory themselves become conspirators. And in his book *Demokratska i autoritarna drzava* [*The Democratic and Authoritarian State*], Franz Neumann takes the view that this is a "dangerous picture of history. The danger lies in the fact that that picture of history has never been completely false, but has always contained a grain of truth, and must contain it if it is to seem convincing." Even the report, as we have said, does not lack convincingness, which is one more reason for it to be critically

combed over in public. The important thing here is not to fall into the conspiracy mill, which is a kind of perpetuum mobile. For example, when President Tudjman is asked to comment on the report that Dedakovic was beaten while being held in custody, he interprets this as evidence of a conspiracy.

Manolic's tactics are different. His television appearance did nevertheless dispel fear. If the same program had not included Stjepan Herceg, who found a source even for some of the questions from viewers in "Belgrade circles," Manolic's explanation of the report came down to saying that it is a description of certain ambiguities, suspicions supported by findings concerning the defense of Vukovar, a portrayal of significant coincidences, and a refutation of the assertion that Zagreb was drinking champagne while people were being killed. According to the report, on the contrary, Dedakovic was carousing with women. In any case, a sizable portion of the document is devoted to the actions of the General Staff to remove the blockade of Vukovar. Heretical data are even given on the morale among the fighters, on poor coordination of local defense, and so on.

The CIA does after all provide information. When it declared at one time that Yugoslavia would fall apart, Stevan Dedijer, who has an excellent knowledge of the work of intelligence services, cooled off the belief of our public that that assertion was based on certain supersecret data. He said that the specialists in the United States had simply been reading our newspapers. Looking at things from that angle, Manolic shows himself to be truly a man with immense experience in the job he holds, a master of his trade.

It would be stupid to conclude from all this that there is no conspiracy. It has accompanied the new Croatian government from the very outset, because it inherited its opponents, as in fact does every new government. We recall how at one time operational data were leaking everywhere from the MUP. It seems that there was more ferment at that time than today. But even that still leaves room for ordinary citizens to panic, and the experiences of those who went through the most terrible tortures of fascism indicate that in spite of the widespread belief, even the Gestapo did not know everything. He knew only what he was told. And in a democratic society one can say everything in public. And remain alive.

Strength, Organization of Armed Forces Viewed

92BA0267D Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Dec 91 p 11

[Article by Milovan Drecun: "Legions of Hatred and Evil"]

[Text] In order to achieve their secessionist objectives—breaking up Yugoslavia and creating the "Independent State of Croatia" [NDH] in its "historical borders"—the Croatian Supreme Command is hurriedly creating its own paramilitary formations, the so-called Croatian Armed Forces [HOS]. Although the structure of the HOS has not been definitively rounded out, the military specialists of the Supreme Command have planned for the HOS to have 45,000 men in its regular peacetime complement. That number was arrived at on the basis of the segment of the population capable of mobilization and armed combat. With slightly less than four million inhabitants, Croatia objectively could mobilize between 6 and 10 percent—between 320,000 and 400,000 people. The Supreme Command, however, is speculating with a mobilization figure of 570,000 people (210,000 between the ages of 18 and 22 and about 360,000 people between the ages of 23 and 32). Nevertheless, the Supreme Command has not managed to mobilize all those people, because aside from the large-scale flight abroad and the refusal of mobilization, Croatia does not have enough personal and collective weapons to equip them.

The HOS has all three branches:

—Ground forces.

—Navy (armed hydrofoils and merchant vessels, patrol boats armed mainly with 20-mm cannon).

—Air force (agricultural planes and recreational airplanes used to evacuate the wounded, to carry personnel, armament, and ammunition, and police helicopters equipped for combat operations).

—And units of the arms and services.

Croatia will have a difficult time forming an air force and air defense, because it has not obtained international recognition, it does not have its own military industry, so that because of the present embargo on exports of armament and military equipment to Yugoslavia, it cannot acquire the necessary equipment for those sophisticated branches of the armed forces.

How Many Paid Mercenaries There Actually Are

The Croatian Armed Forces are directed by the Ministry of Defense [MO] through the general staff. The MO also has jurisdiction over national protection detachments (about 30,000 people) who under international rules are not supposed to be armed, although many of them have personal weapons and automatic rifles. They are organized along military lines—from the squad to the brigade. The national protection detachments are quickly being transformed into Home Guard units.

The ground forces consist of the following:

—Home Guard units.

—The National Guard Corps [ZNG]—the operational and maneuverable component, organized into one corps, brigades, and battalions.

The establishment of Home Guard units is under way. They are being organized into brigades, each village has a unit of between 70 and 150 men, one or two battalions are envisaged in opstinas, and the larger opstinas even have several brigades of Home Guards. The Home

Guard units have a total of between 80,000 and 90,000 men under arms. This is the territorial component of the HOS, which is added as necessary to the operational structure of the ZNG.

The core of the ZNG is made up of a volunteer and mercenary army (exclusively Croats), by contrast with the reserves, who are paid only when they take part in combat action. The ZNG has about 70,000 men, among them some of the active personnel of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP], which [line missing in original] of the HOS.

Within the ZNG, there are also several hundred foreign mercenaries from various parts of the world. These are mostly poor men from Afro-Asian and former East European countries, but there are also adventurers and professional mercenaries among them. Most of the mercenaries are Croatian emigres—usually Ustasha terrorists who have gone through the special training of certain Western intelligence services while abroad. The Supreme Command cannot pay top-flight professional mercenaries because aside from 6,000 German marks [DM] a month (Croatia is offering between DM1,500 and DM2,000), they also want additional guarantees and bonuses such as financial support of their families if they are killed. The HOS also has foreign instructors (particularly from Germany for the handling of sophisticated weapons and commando and terrorist training).

Although from the organizational standpoint the MUP is not part of the HOS, its units take part in combat operations. The MUP has combat police units. In every police department, there is one combat battalion with a strength of 400 (on the average, those units are 50 percent of strength). The combat segment of the MUP (about 5,000 men) combines operations with the ZNG. In the MUP, there are also special units for special purposes (commando-terrorist and antiterrorist groups). These units, together with the brigade that guards the Supreme Command, comprise about 4,000 men, but the MUP has a total of about 30,000 men under arms.

The paramilitary structures of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community], HSP [Croatian Rights Party], and certain other parties operate independently of the MO and MUP. The most extreme is the "Black Legion" of the Croatian Rights Party under the command of Dobroslav Paraga—the "Croatian Armed Forces" [HOS]. The "Black Legion" has between 8,000 and 10,000 men grouped in units of between 100 and 120 legionnaires. The Croatian Democratic Community has its own armed members within crisis command centers. These are not combat units, but are intended to secure party facilities and exert political pressures on those who think differently.

Relation Between the Combat and Noncombat Segments

The relation between the combat and noncombat segments in the HOS is 2:1, that is, of the 160,000 men in the HOS about 110,000 take part in combat operations. In view of the strength of the MO, MUP, and party-operated paramilitary structures, in Croatia there are about 200,000 men under arms at the moment.

For example, the structure of a brigade which is supposed to have about 1,800 men, but in practice has between 500 and 2,500, looks like this:

—The command.

—The staff.

—Three battalions.

—Companies (rear, special, engineering, and quartermaster).

—Platoons (including a platoon of military police).

The "Croatian Armed Forces," as we see, are organized on traditions that date from the era of Pavelic's Independent State of Croatia. At that time, the Croatian Armed Forces had mainly two components—volunteers (Ustashi), now this is the ZNG, and the Home Guards (which both then and now is formed by general mobilization of adult males).

The Croatian Armed Forces are armed as follows:

(1) Small arms—automatic rifles of various kinds and calibers, semiautomatic rifles, submachine guns, telescopic rifles from hunting rifles to those which have optical and infrared sights for firing at night;

(2) Antiarmor weapons—bazookas, cannon, self-propelled artillery, 9k-11 "Maljutka" guided missiles, single-use rocket launchers: the 60-mm "Osa (Wasp)," the 90-mm "Zolja (Hornet)," and the "Ambrust";

(3) Antiaircraft weapons—light 20/3-mm antiaircraft cannons with a range up to 2 km, 2M "Arrow" missiles and Stingers, machine guns;

(4) Tanks, armored personnel carriers, "Flame" and "Fire" multibarrel rocket launchers, cannon and howitzers of various calibers from 76 mm to 165 mm, mortars of all calibers 60-120 mm.

According to certain sources who can be believed, since the beginning of the war which the fascist government in Croatia, with the help of certain Western countries, has waged against the Serbian people in Croatia and the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], about 30,000 people have been expelled from the ranks of the HOS. A good many of them were killed.

Serbia

VREME Publishes Democratic Party Program

92BA0293A Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian
16 Dec 91 pp 12-13

[Unattributed article: "Democratic Party's Declaration on Serbia (Draft)"—prepared and abridged by the editorial office of VREME]

[Text]

1. For a Democratic Discussion of Serbia's National and State Interests

Serbia's state interest and the interest of the Serbian people in Yugoslavia so far have not been defined in a democratic discussion within the framework of political institutions and with the participation of the political public. Those interests have been determined by a narrow circle of people, or exclusively by Slobodan Milosevic. Thus, on one hand, the state and national interest has been left to personal (self-)will, while on the other hand, the exclusion of political institutions from the process of adopting important decisions has devalued those institutions—and primarily the Assembly and the government—within the awareness of the citizens of Serbia. Against the background of doubt in the effectiveness of the institutions, extremist movements have grown, which, with previously unseen aggression are offering "fast" and "radical" solutions (...).

2. Serbia—a Sovereign State

Serbia should be a sovereign state within the republic's present borders. It should adopt its constitution by democratic means, create a professional army, and introduce a healthy currency.

Other ethnic groups live in Serbia, in addition to Serbs, and therefore guarantees of national and religious tolerance should be incorporated in its institutions. The rights of national groups should be ensured by state organization—among other things, by proportional participation in government bodies; this would take away the reason for the existence of purely national political parties.

The Democratic Party demands that a historic agreement be reached with the large ethnic groups living in Serbia—the Albanians in Kosovo-Metohija, the Hungarians in Vojvodina, and the Muslims in Sandzak—on both coexistence in a democratic Serbia, and on loyalty to that state. The method in which the problems in Kosovo-Metohija are being solved today—through the imposition of total coercive administration without any democratic control whatsoever-only takes us further away from the possibility of any agreement.

3. Serbs Outside of Serbia

The Democratic Party advocates that the parts of the Serbian people who are in the majority or in a certain territorial continuity, who live in the border areas of Croatia, as well as the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina, decide freely on the form of their state existence. The Democratic Party believes that as a result of this free choice, territorial-political units will emerge in the form of states and with a majority Serbian population, or else a Bosnia-Hercegovina state in a union with Serbia, Montenegro, and possibly Macedonia.

4. Future State Community

Serbia should enter into a state community with the political units that will be created as described above, as well as with Montenegro, Macedonia, and other democratic states that choose such a community. The extent of the state ties between Serbia and other regions and states should be determined subsequently by agreement with them.

5. Serbia in Europe

Serbia's place is in Europe, politically, economically, and culturally. The Democratic Party is opposed even more energetically than before to the spread of anti-European attitudes in Serbia (...).

6. For a Constitutional Assembly

(...) Serbia should adopt a new constitution that will define Serbia's new state status, and that will make possible the construction of democratic institutions, which has been hampered by the existing presidential system of power. Only a constitutional assembly can adopt such a constitution. The Democratic Party will demand the convening of a constitutional assembly, and if necessary, it will demand that a referendum be scheduled on convening one.

7. The Center of Political Power in Serbia Should Be the National Assembly

It is necessary to eliminate at once the presidential system of power, which, particularly under the conditions of the transition from a dictatorship to democracy, is leading to a concentration of power in narrow political circles, without the possibility of public control. The Democratic Party advocates local self-administration—which has now been actually abolished by the executive authorities—and the decisive regional decentralization of Serbia.

8. Controlled Privatization Against the Theft of National Wealth

Currently there is no concept of economic order in Serbia. In the gap between the abandoned agreement economy and the verbally or hypocritically accepted market economy, abuses and thefts are occurring that exceed everything that has been seen to date in half a century of socialism. The only way to stop this is the

immediate creation of a rational and efficient state administration, as well as the decisive and accelerated conversion of property. The existing state administration is in a state of collapse, and is participating to a great extent in the distribution of "social property." The way in which property conversion is currently being carried out, through its incorporation into large systems and nationalization—with the appointment of SPS [Serbian Socialist Party] ministers and officials as directors and managers—is only facilitating continued theft and the continued socialization of losses. The losses of those enterprises will now be directly covered by the state budget, i.e., from the taxes of all citizens. In that way, instead of a market economy, we are getting a state economy in its classic socialist form.

The Democratic Party believes that it is high time for energetic measures to be taken to protect the threatened common goods, the national wealth, and the standard of living of the citizens of Serbia. It is essential to pass laws on denationalization, the protection of foreign exchange savings, and the protection of socially jeopardized citizens. That part of "social property" that can operate in a market should be privatized immediately. If the conditions for selling it do not exist, then it has to be converted into property with a clearly defined owner through credits or free concession (...).

(Adopted in principle at the meeting of the Democratic Party's Main Committee in Vrnjacka Banja, 8 December 1991.)

Banja Luka Corps Commander Uzelac Interviewed

92BA0267C Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Dec 91 pp 6-7

[Interview with Colonel General Nikola Uzelac, commander of the Banja Luka Corps, by M. Petrovic and R. Popovic; place and date not given: "The War Is Dirty and Has Been Imposed, but the Ustashi Do Not Want Peace"]

[Text] Although it is very difficult to measure the contribution of particular commanders to the success of the units they command, it is certain that the reality of war is their most severe judge. And so in this war a splendid pleiade of commanders capable of facing reality and placing all their abilities at the service of the country's defense have been rushed to the forefront. First their soldiers and then the people as well have proclaimed them heroes, and then official recognition and esteem with the public have come as a logical consequence.

One of these is Colonel General Nikola Uzelac, commander of the Banja Luka Corps, about whom quite a bit has already been written, but the public is less familiar with that portion of his biography which is not directly related to his military career. The general likes to stress that he was born in Dalmatia. He was born in a village near Benkovci. His people moved from there to Slavonia back before the war. There, in 1941, they barely managed to avoid the Ustasha genocide. They saved themselves by fleeing to a village near Smederevska Palanka. Thus, Gen. Uzelac survived one genocide as a seven-year-old. That was perhaps even decisive in his subsequent commitment to a military career, but it certainly has influenced the general's clear position today about who the enemy is in this war. In his judgment, the best thing the Banja Luka Corps has done is to have so far prevented the combat operations from spreading to Bosnia and Hercegovina.

We talked about these and other matters with Commander Uzelac after his field promotion to the rank of colonel general at precisely the time when the Croatian paramilitary formations were heedlessly violating the 14th truce.

[NARODNA ARMIJA] Comrade general, in spite of the signing of the 14th truce it can be said of the zone of responsibility of the Banja Luka Corps, at least according to newspaper reports, that it is extremely unsettled in certain parts. Does this mean that the truce has also fallen through?

[Uzelac] That is true. Even after the signing of the 14th truce, the situation has not calmed down. We have been trying with all our strength to achieve what we were ordered—above all, a complete cease-fire. That is what we have tried to do. However, hardly a day goes by when the other side does not violate the truce. It violates it not only with fire, but also with corresponding attacks, i.e., with offensive operations. That offensive posture is especially manifested along the axis from Drvar toward Pakrac and Lipik, and then from the direction of Novska toward Lipik and Pakrac. The enemy is conducting offensive operations with the primary goal of intersecting those routes and taking Pakrac and Lipik. At the same time, the enemy is also attacking along the axis Kutina—Novska and Novska—Okucani and along the axis Nova Gradiska—Okucani, constantly attempting to come around into our rear in order to move the line of the front and threaten our defense system.

The last truce served the enemy as all the previous truces have done—for organizational and structural changes, to train personnel with equipment they have come by easily, to regroup and bring up fresh forces, above all along the axes which I have mentioned, in the extended area of Virovitica, Slavonska Pozega, Novska, and Nova Gradiska, in order to conduct offensive operations.

I can tell you that during the last truce we had many fewer casualties than in the previous ones. We took numerous measures to frustrate the enemy in his dirty intentions. Those measures pertain above all to the behavior of individuals and units on the battlefield. We fortified ourselves along the lines taken and raised the level of caution to the highest level. The results are obvious.

[NARODNA ARMIJA] Because the enemy has demolished several bridges and cut off certain routes of communication, can you tell us whether this has threatened the operational and tactical position of units of the Corps?

[Uzelac] As for the operational and tactical positions of units of the Corps, they have remained unchanged from the status before the 14th truce was signed and they will not change, because we are defending them stubbornly. We have linked up the defense system and created immense free territory which we are holding together with units of Territorial Defense [TO]. If necessary, we have sufficient forces to undertake certain offensive actions in order to carry out counterstrikes to prevent destruction of the present defense system and operational and tactical positions of units of the Corps and Territorial Defense. I can say at this moment that we have favorable positions, even though certain bridges have been damaged and some demolished. Perhaps some people think that routes for movement and communication have been cut off in this territory; however, that is not the case, because we took timely steps for unhindered advancement and use of forces. We have repaired some bridges, such as the one between Bosanska and Stara Gradiska. The enemy managed to damage that bridge, because a year ago, under the pretext of painting and repairing the bridge, he installed and concreted a certain amount of explosives so that that would not be noticed. We know with accuracy that the cable for electric detonation was laid to a house in the vicinity of the bridge on the left side of the Sava. However, thanks to their ignorance and lack of professional competence, the bridge suffered minimal damage, so that it was relatively easy to put it back to rights. Thanks to specialists of the Military Engineering Institute, the bridge has been reinforced and secured on both sides. Second, we have a ferry crossing and pontoon bridge over the Strug Canal, and we have several ferry crossings and a back-up bridge over the Sava.

[NARODNA ARMIJA] During this war, there has been a great deal of criticism concerning the level of training of active military personnel and especially the reserve units. What is the level of training of personnel in the Banja Luka Corps?

[Uzelac] Since I came to this Corps, we have been working above all on training of commands, so that today we can confidently say that all our commands, from the level of the Corps on down, are very well-trained. We have gotten full benefit from the early drills and staff and command-staff war exercises which we conducted along the routes where combat operations are now being conducted. Because the commands and officers were well-trained, there were no great problems either in training the regular personnel or the reserves, who very quickly have adapted to training in the new situation that has arisen. Even now, before we send a unit to the battlefield, we have a program which every soldier and every unit must go through. To be used in defensive and offensive operations on the battlefield, every unit goes through a certain period of adaptation to combat conditions. It has turned out that people learn much more quickly in a wartime situation, which is quite understandable, they approach every task much more seriously than in peacetime. That is why it is no wonder at all that they are managing to learn several specialties. In most units, even soldiers who have not been directly involved in combat, for example, drivers and cooks, also know how to operate artillery and other guns.

[NARODNA ARMIJA] At the beginning, you had problems with mobilization and replenishment. What is the situation now?

[Uzelac] I can tell you that we are almost 100-percent replenished with personnel, and with supplies it is higher than that. We should emphasize that we have not had any particular problems with mobilization. To be sure, it was adversely affected by the appeal to the Muslims and Croats to avoid being mobilized. Unfortunately, those appeals came even from the Presidency and government of B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina]; however, we are once again satisfied with the call-up. Now, we have in units both Muslims and Croats, who are fighting very well along with all the other fighters. We have splendid examples of heroic behavior in every combat situation. We have a unit whose commander is a Muslim and his entire unit is made up of soldiers of Serbian nationality. They respect him and value him, they say that they would not change him under any conditions.

I would also like to mention that the combat morale of our units has remained at a very high level, especially the regular units, but also a majority of the soldiers, even though the battles have lasted several months, and many of them have been involved from the beginning of military action. As for those deceptive truces and their influence on combat morale, it should be said that the men are impatient and want to go into action. This is a sword with two edges, and in any case it has a manifold impact on the state of morale in the units. Nevertheless, we have preserved high combat morale, even though the ethnic and social composition of the men in the Corps, and also in territorial and volunteer units, is very diverse. Although there is no quota system, members of all nationalities and ethnic minorities living on the territory from which the units are replenished are represented. There are Serbs and Muslims and Croats and Gypsies. All of this also contributes to the high morale of the units.

As for cooperation with the population, in Slavonia and here in the Krajina we have no problems at all, because, regardless of the views of certain parties, and especially their extremists, the people love the Army, especially in the Krajina, but also in other parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina. This is expressed every day in various ways, not only in words, but also in deeds. There is hardly a single opstina in which I have not talked to the most responsible government authorities. I have familiarized them with the situation, obligations, and needs.

As for mobilization and the conduct of combat operations, I simply asked that they merely discharge their obligations under the current law, because in Bosnia-Hercegovina the SFRY Constitution is in effect. Accordingly, they have rights and obligations toward the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] and toward the mobilization, that is, toward armed combat. This is what I have requested, and I can tell you that most opstinas, regardless of what party is in power, have been meeting their obligations.

[NARODNA ARMIJA] Does that mean that the idea of the armed population has not come to nothing in this region?

[Uzelac] The reality of the war has demonstrated that it has not. This especially applies to Slavonia, where the people organized themselves, because the existing Territorial Defense structures did not do so. However, the present Territorial Defense has its own staffs, by zones and opstinas, its own units for protection, even police. Thanks to the additional efforts, and with our help, Territorial Defense is rather well-organized. As for the area south of the Sava and west of the Una, it has proven very effective. Accordingly, the well-known tasks of Territorial Defense are nevertheless, I would say, being effectively executed in this war. All vital facilities are being guarded and monitored. Territorial Defense has mobilized an adequate number of people, depending on need, and they are now controlling their territory.

By applying the appropriate tactics and operational doctrine and thanks to skillful command, we have up to now conducted all of our operations successfully. Skill in the use and handling of equipment has contributed to that success. We have quickly adapted to the situation, and in opposition to the dirty war against us we have set up a kind of conception of our own concerning the armed populace and the conception of the land-air battle. From the outset, we have had support from the air force, which, along with our artillery and all our military equipment, has always been enough for us to reach the particular objective.

In our actions up to now, we have gained a great deal of experience, which is being summarized and made available to neighboring units. This applies to certain tactical, operational, and technical solutions. It would be good for all of this experience from all battlefields to be collected at some operational and strategic level, where it would be analyzed and made available to lower units.

[NARODNA ARMIJA] As a commander who is very much interested in the soldier's honor, how do you look on treason and desertion?

[Uzelac] In all wars, there have been traitors, deserters, and cowards. One civilian and five active officers have left our unit, and I think that this is almost negligible given our total numerical strength. In any case, combat readiness was not destroyed by that. But in all wars, including this one of ours, aside from treason there has been and still is a problem that considerably affects the combat readiness of units, and that is that a certain number of officers do not get their bearings in command positions in the new situation that has come about. We have immediately removed such officers and brought up others to take their place. Now we no longer have such problems. In our actions up to now, I must admit, there has been both desertion and cowardice. We have branded such things and taken all steps so that they do not recur. To some extent, those and other negative things are also the consequence of the fact that a law-governed state is not functioning in these regions of ours, that it does not stand behind the JNA, and that certain political decisions have not been forthcoming. When I say this, I am thinking above all of full mobilization, proclamation of a state of war, transition to wartime production. If the Army is to function well, the state, that is, its official policy, must stand behind it. Accordingly, everything that has happened is actually the consequence of our being the only army in the world that exists and yet does not have a state intact behind it.

[NARODNA ARMIJA] And finally, comrade general, when was it most difficult for you as a professional soldier and man in this war?

[Uzelac] In this dirty war, we are all experiencing many difficult moments. For me, as commander and as a man, it is most difficult when we suffer unnecessary losses, when we take every effort to maintain the truce, and the Ustashi fire on us. Although we have taken numerous steps to avoid surprise and casualties during the truce, unfortunately we have once again suffered losses. And that is intolerable. Such truces lead us nowhere. I am convinced that none of this that is happening to us is necessary and that all the problems could be solved in a peaceful way and without the use of force. But when it all nevertheless did occur, then I find the appeals for treason hard to take. After all, all those appeals not to respond to the mobilization or to abandon units, they are all in actuality appeals for treason, and we do not have the appropriate legal means of taking steps against such persons because a state of war has not yet been proclaimed.

All of that plays into the hand of the enemy and contributes to breaking up Yugoslavia. The new fascism proceeds from the position that Yugoslavia does not exist, but it does exist, and it certainly will survive as a community of people and nationalities which want to live in it. I would say in conclusion that I am proud of my commands, my officers, and my units, which have honorably performed their tasks. At the same time, I would use this occasion to congratulate all the people, all the fighters and officers over the entire Yugoslav theater of war, on all its battlefields, and at the same time I would express thanks to the people for their support and the large number of cards I received when I was promoted to the higher rank.

Kosovo

New Name for Pristina Radio-Television Sought

AU0701150292 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] The Presidium of the Kosovo Journalists League has asked the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo for the name of Pristina Radio-Television, occupied by the Serbs on 5 July 1990, to be urgently changed to the Albanian Radio-Television of Kosovo [Radio-Televizioni Shqiptar i Kosoves]. This new name became necessary when it was realized that the communist Serbian Assembly, by approving the law on the foundation of Serbian Radio-Television that came into force on 1 January this year, turned Pristina Radio-Television into a branch of Belgrade.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Autonomous Serbian Region Set Up in Sekovici

LD0801145992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1334 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] Vlasenica, 8 Jan (TANJUG)— The founding meeting of the Birac Autonomous Region was held in Sekovici today. According to the founding document, it is an autonomous territorial unit of citizens and people within the federal state of Yugoslavia.

By virtue of a decision made today by Serbian councillors from eight communes, the Birac Autonomous Region is to comprise the Sekovici and Vlasenica municipalities and parts of the municipalities of Bratunac, Zvornik, Srebrenica, Kalesija, Kladanj, and Zivinice.

Milorad Vukajlovic, until now president of the Sekovici municipal assembly, was chosen by acclamation as the president of the assembly of this new Serbian "autonomous region" in Bosnia and Hercegovina. Milenko Stanic, president of the assembly of the neighboring commune of Vlasenica, was appointed prime minister designate in the same manner.

Izetbegovic Discusses Republic's Recognition

AU0801153792 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Ljubomir Nikolic report from Sarajevo]

[Text] Prior to his departure for Brussels, Alija Izetbegovic invited the representatives of the ruling and opposition parties for talks. During the talks, Izetbegovic said that Bosnia-Hercegovina was called upon to apply for recognition and that this was done so that Bosnia-Hercegovina does not remain in the political twilight and on the sideline in relation to the rest of Yugoslavia. Our independence does not mean erecting walls against Serbia, Croatia, and Montenegro, but the creation of special ties and borders without passports and customs, Izetbegovic said.

In contrast to the stand expressed at the congress of the Party of Democratic Action, Alija Izetbegovic today said that the existence of peoples in Bosnia-Hercegovina is a reality, and that his party is ready to incorporate in the new republican constitution the institution of a Chamber of Peoples and a compulsory consensus.

In addition to Alija Izetbegovic and Ejup Ganic, the leaders of opposition parties, Nijaz Durakovic, Ismet Grbo, Avdo Spaho, Rasim Kadic, and Ivo Komsic, also expressed the hope that Europe will recognize the independence of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Slobodan Pologos, representative of the Serbian Renewal Movement, stressed that the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina must have guarantees for full freedom and equality.

Durakovic said that peace must be secured in this republic, regardless of the EC's decision on recognizing the Yugoslav republics. He also stressed that his party sees the future of Bosnia-Hercegovina in a future Yugoslav association.

Rasim Kadic sharply criticized the convention on Yugoslavia, the new territorial organization of the Army, and the printing of money without backing.

Today's meeting was not attended by representatives of the Serbian Democratic Party. The party headquarters held a Christmas party. We learned today that a meeting of the Serbian Assembly has been called for 1200 [1100 GMT] tomorrow, at which the Republic of the Serbian People of Bosnia-Hercegovina will be proclaimed.

Presidency Member: Markovic Welcome in Republic

LD0701173192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1508 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] Sarajevo, Jan 7 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's outgoing Prime Minister Ante Markovic is welcome in the multi-national Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, as member of the republic's Presidency Ejup Ganic told the Sarajevo daily VECERNJE NOVINE today. Ganic refused to specify which post Markovic would be offered, but said a politician of Markovic's quality and reputation was welcome everywhere and at any post.

The daily recalls that Ganic had invited Markovic to come to Bosnia-Hercegovina a few months ago. Ganic now said he would contact Markovic to discuss his coming to Sarajevo in the next few days.

Asked whether Bosnia-Hercegovina's three ruling national parties might not accept Markovic's possible appointment, Ganic said it "is unlikely that anyone could frontally oppose Ante Markovic's coming to Bosnia-Hercegovina" since this would be an "extreme political dilettantism."

The three national parties rally Moslems, who account for 43.77 percent of the republic's population, Serbs—31.46 percent, and Croats—17.34 percent.

Former Communists Reject Belgrade Convention

AU0701203092 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Jan 91

[Text] At a news conference by the Socialist Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina [former communists] today, the president of the party, Nijaz Durakovic, sharply criticized the convention on Yugoslavia held in Belgrade last week. He said that the convention was directed by the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina following its own scenario.

The aforementioned convention is a Stalinist farce. (?The manner in which it was held) was a militant and poorly directed nationalistic rally. Regarding its overall effects, this convention is yet another political fiasco. All in all this was mainly a play about Bosnia-Hercegovina. Such meetings, Durakovic said, will certainly discourage all those who would fight for a new association in this country.

Speaking about the latest speech by Franjo Tudjman and his statement that the division of Bosnia-Hercegovina is the only solution to the Yugoslav crisis, Ivo Komsic expressed surprise that no one from the ruling parties has said anything about this yet. He stressed that an intact Bosnia-Hercegovina is the only solution to the Yugoslav crisis.

Macedonia

Turkish Alliance Condemns Albanian Referendum

AU0801153092 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] The Democratic Alliance of Turks has issued a statement in which it stresses that the Turkish population in Macedonia has been upset by the scheduling of a new referendum for the political and territorial autonomy of Albanians in Macedonia. Their concern is considerably compounded by the way in which this is to be carried out in certain areas in the republic. At a time when Europe and the whole of the democratic civilized world are making efforts for the peaceful resolution of the political crisis in Yugoslavia, [words indistinct] factors in the Republic of Macedonia to settle interethnic relations within the framework of a common state, within institutions and in a peaceful way.

Therefore, remaining faithful to its program aims and orientations, the Democratic Alliance of Turks is against any unilateral decision that is directed against the interests of the common state.

The Executive Council of the Social Democratic Party of Macedonia assesses that the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] and NDP [People's Democratic Party] have finally shown their true colors. The day is approaching on which they will publicly and most openly demystify their strategic aim of scheduling a referendum for the territorial and political autonomy of Albanians, which represents not only an attack on the constitutional order but also directly undermines the territorial integrity of the Republic of Macedonia.

As regards the scheduling of the aforementioned referendum by some self-proclaimed assembly of Albanians in Macedonia, the Main Committee of the Macedonian People's Movement has issued a statement that stresses that the main propaganda used by the leaderships of the two Albanian parties in Macedonia amounts to the euphoric exaggeration of the number of Albanians and [words indistinct] time and place. Presenting such unrealistic numbers serves, above all, to create confusion among its own nationality and the European public, as well as to sow defeatism among other citizens in Macedonia.

We appeal to all democratically-oriented citizens in Macedonia, and especially to Albanians, not to accept the call to take part in the referendum that is leading to a catastrophe, because it is obvious that the basic aim of the leadership of the PDP and NDP is not democracy but, on the contrary, the base desire to achieve the isolation of the Albanian people in a limited area and, with the common aim of the heads of these parties, to provide themselves with a people over which they will rule as they desire. This is stressed among other things in today's statement by the Executive Council of the League for Democracy, regarding the announced referendum for the political and territorial autonomy of Albanians in Macedonia.